

THE
INTEREST
OF
IRELAND
IN ITS
TRADE and WEALTH
STATE D.

In TWO PARTS.

First Part observes and discovers the Causes of *Irelands* not more increasing in Trade and Wealth from the first Conquest till now.

Second Part proposeth Expedients to remedy all its Mercanture Maladies , and other Wealth-wasting Enormities , by which it is kept poor and low.

Both mix'd with some Observations on the Politicks of Government, relating to the Incouragement of Trade and Increase of Wealth,

de *Laspoir*
WITH Some Reflections on Principles of Religion, as it relates to the Premisses.

By Richard Lawrence Esq;

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L431 TO THE

Most Hopeful BRANCH

O F

HONOR
JAMES

EARL of

OSSORY, &c.

My Lord,

IT is not for Protection this little Treatise presumes to present it self to your view, let its own Innocency and honest Design be its Guard; its Errand

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435354

The EPISTLE

is only to represent the most natural Causes of the Poverty of your Country , by discovering not only the grand Robbers of its Treasure, but the lesser Theeves that creep in at every window , and pilfer every House, and pick every Pocket, whereby not only the noble and wealthy, but the mean and poor are daily made poorer ; and it chuseth to make its Address to your Lordship, as the chief Concernee, of a Subject, in its Prosperity, as being Heir to the highest Honor and most noble Patrimony in this Ile , and from thence will probably be in the best Capacity, after a few more years have ripened your pregnant Parts, to do it good or hurt ; and amongst the other Heroick Vertues you derive from your

DEDICATORY.

your most noble Ancestors, it is
of wish'd and hop'd this may be in-
tail'd, that you are a true Lover
of your Country, that it may
be said of you in after ages, as
now, of Mordecai the noble Jew, *He*
was next to the King great amongst
his people, accepted of the multitude,
seeking the Wealth of his Country:
your Predecessors have sav'd you
a labour as to the raising your
own House, one Stone more
would make that top-heavy, all
you have left to do is to keep
that in repair, and to finish the
Structures they have begun for
the Wealth and Prosperity of
your Country; for as they have
been called to the highest Im-
ploys by their Prince, so have
they not disdained to stoop to
the meanest Service for the Im-

The EPISTLE

provement of the Trade, &c. of their Country, the many chargeable Attempts made by them for the erecting and encouraging Manufactures, &c. *Chappellizod, Clonmell, Carrick*, and about twelve places more, where Attempts have been made by their Example and Countenance, will tell the next age of their unparallel'd Encouragements to improve the Manufactures and Trade of *Ireland*; and this little Book will inform them why they succeeded no better. I am not unsensible the scornful useless Wits of this Age will insinuate to your Lordship, Mercantile and Mechanick Studies are below your Dignity; but let me reply, they have but depraved Fancies that tell you so; ask your most noble

Grand-

DEDICATORY.

Grandfather why he hath admitted such free access. and spent so much time in conference with men of Mechanick and Mercantile Rank and Breeding, he will tell you, it was that he might understand the Interest and Intrigue of Trade to promote it, as the only means to improve the Wealth of his Country ; and both divine and prophane History informs us, most of the useful and beneficial Arts, wherewith the world flourisheth, were the Inventions of famous men : It is recorded to the praise of *Tuball Caan*, a Prince in his time, that *he was the first Instracter of every Artificer to work in Brass, and Iron, &c.* and of holy *Noah*, the last King of the old World, that God instructed him to be his chief Ship-Carpenter ,

Genes.

The EPISTLE

Genes. 6. 14. Bezaleele and Aboli-ab were Princes of their Tribes, whom God filled with wisdom, understanding and knowledge in all manner of Workmanship, to devise cunning works. to work in Gold and Silver, and in Brass, in cutting of Stones, and carving of Timber, Exod. 31. 45. So Solomon, Israels most glorious King, was the Inventer of all those curious Works he made to adorn both Gods House and his own , and the Contriver of his Ships to manage his Traffique with Ophir for Gold, whereby he became the wealthiest Prince in the world ; and so great a veneration had the ancient Heathens for profitable and useful Arts, they attributed the Invention of them to their Gods; so that most acute Wit, and com-

DEDICATORY.

compleatest States-man of his age, Sir *Henry Wotton*, in his *Character of the Grand Duke of Tuscany*, dedicated to King *James*, to the rest of his Qualifications, as that he was a wise and wary Prince, solidly not formally so, &c. faith, *He was a great Cherisher of manual Arts, whereby he drew to him from all parts the most exquisite Artificers, gave them settled Pensions, and placed them in several compartments of his Palace, where he would come often to see them work for his own delight, being in truth the greatest Oeconomist of his age; and as he had much of the Prince, so did he not disdain to have something of the Merchant: and our brave Prince Rupert hath increas'd not lessen'd his Fame in the Field of Mars, by fullying his Hands and smutting his*

The EPISTLE.

his Face in the Forge of *Vulcan*:
That Glory of his Country for
Wit and Learning, the Lord *Bacon*, did not spend his time in Phi-
losophical Theory , but in the
practical part of manual Arts, as
the Incorporation and refining
of Mettals and Minerals, &c. vide
his *Phisiologica* from pag. 91. to pag.
146.

And in his Speech to the Par-
liament, saith he, *I hope, my Lords,*
my midnight Studies to make our Coun-
tries flourish, and out-vie European
Neighbourt in mysterial and beneficial
Arts, have not so ungratefully affected
your Intellects, that you will delay
or oppose this Affair, since your hono-
rable Posterities may be enriched there-
by p. 132.

The despising the Study of
Mechanick Arts is only the pro-
duct

DEDICATORY.

duct of Romantick Fancies, who more esteem the Composer of Plays than the Inventors of Works, though they are no more useful in a Commonwealth than Fidlers in a Country Parish, to incite to Idleness and Debauchery.

Titus Livius tells you, they were first designed to appease the angry Gods in a time of great Mortality; and well they became the Worship of such beastly Deities, whose Worship consisting in Antick Gestures and Garbs, with Mimick motions directed with Musick, mixt with abominable Immoralities, especially their Bacchanalies, &c.

But saith he, *The Actors were not base Comedians, or Professors of the infamous Players Craft, who are grown*

The EPISTLE

*grown to this Foolery and excessive
Sumptuousness, as can hardly be de-
frayed by the most wealthy Kingdoms,
but by the Noble Youth of the City ;
Livius Supplement. pag. 205, 206.*
Vertuous Heathens are the Re-
proach of vicious Christians, who
retain a greater veneration for
Moral than they for Divine Pre-
cepts ; if Christians would retain
half the veneration to the Divine
Precepts of St. Peter, Paul, &c.
that Heathens gave to the Moral
Precepts of Seneca, Socrates and
Plutarch, Preciseness would not
be the Reproach and Prophane-
ness the Applause of these last
and worst times of this doting
old World as it is : saith the de-
servedly admired *Orinda*,

*For since its grown in fashion to be bad,
And to be vain, or angry, proud or mad,
While*

DEDICATORY.

*While in their Vices only men agree
Is thought the only modern Gallantry, (Crimes
How would some brave Examples check the
And both reproach and yet reform the Times.*

But however Romantick Fancies and Composers of Plays are now admired by a Generation of men, who are like those Boys that are fond of their play, but hate their Books: yet Inventors and Improvers of manual Arts have ever been esteemed the Patrons of the Honor and Wealth of their Country, by all that esteem publick profit before private pleasure.

Sir, it is not the Art of the Tradesman, but the Knowledge of the Statesman I recommend to your Study: For though it be not necessary your Lordship should understand when Leather

is

The EPISTLE

is well tanned, or Wool well ordered, or Flesh and Fish with their products well saved, nor when Cloth & Stuff is true made, yet it is very convenient, your Noble Self, and others like to be concerned with you in State Affairs, should be acquainted how much the right Managing those lesser matters tends to the Credit and Wealth of your Country, and that the Labour of the poor, when rightly improved, produceth greater Wealth to a Country than the Revenue of the rich, as is evident in the Chapter of Manufactures.

And as your Lordship may be eminently serviceable herein in your publick station, when you come to be a Chief Minister of State, so at present by your leading

DEDICATORY.

ing Example in being the chief Member of that honourable Society, proposed for curing all our Mercantile maladies in the Chapter of *Corporation-Trade*, few sober young Gentlemen but would esteem it their Honour as well as their Interest to be ingaged with you in a work so beneficial to their Country, and convenient to themselves; for it is the Glory of Princes and Nobles to imbarque themselves in Designs for the publick Weal of their Country, wherein your Lordship hath Royal as well as Noble examples in the members of the *African* and *Canary* Companies at *London*, &c. and it is recorded, to the Honor of the Lord Chancellor *Cromwel*, after his grateful Requital of his old Friend *Francis Fris cobald*, a
* * de-

The EPISTLE

decayed Banker of *Florence*, that he highly importuned him to stay and erect a new Bank in *London*, offering to go a share with him to the value of 60000 Duckats, a considerable Sum in those times.

And this work of improving *Ireland* in Trade and Manufactures seems to be reserved for the Age your Lordship is to act your part on the publick Stage; for, as I demonstrate in the first Chapter, *Ireland* was never capable of it until the year 1660. and since then many hopeful Attempts have miscarried for want of discerning the Defects in their Foundation, for which Experience since then hath supplied Remedies, which this little Book proposes; that as your most Illustrious Grandfather

DEDICATORY.

ther hath had the Honor to regulate and settle the real Estates of this Kingdom, a work of that weight and difficulty, few Heads or Hands but his own could have performed so, to the general satisfaction of all the different opposite Interests ; so will it probably be your Lordships work to build upon that well laid Foundation, by improving the personal Estates of *Irelands* Inhabitants, which nothing but the propagating its *Trade* and *Manufactures* can do, and that is a *Work* will prosper in no hand but that of *Interest*, as is asserted in the Chapter of *Irelands Interest in its own Government* : and none will question but your Lordship hath the greatest Interest in *Irelands* Prosperity of any Subject in the

The EPISTLE

Kings Dominions ; and as your Interest, so your natural Genius, if your observes mistake not, inclines you to Seriousness, a temper this frothy age needs your example in; and it is hop'd by them that love you, it is not only the gravity of your paternal Education and Example, but the power of your own innate solid Humour, that hath preserved you to this age so spotless, wherein too many young Noblemen are ignobly vicious, to the reproach of their Dignities : titular Honour abstracted from Vertue is but the shadow of Greatness, virtuous and heroick Actions are the substance of it.

Juvenal.
sol 279.

*Is there in Greatness so much good as will
But only serve to counterpoise the ill ?
Each Crime is so conspicuously base,
As he that sins is great in Birth or Place.*

BUT

DEDICATORY.

But who will honour him that's Honours shame,
Noble in nothing but a noble Name?
Honour consists in Worth, not Blood,
The Great weigh nothing if not good:
The men whose Virtue is their Birth
Have been the greatest men on Earth.

Herbert.

Which Campion in his Epistle to Robert Earl of Leicester, the Darling of his Princess, and Glory of his Country in his time, affirms; having enumerated the excellent Qualifications of his Mind, and loveliness of his Deportment, saith; these are indeed the Kernels that shine through the Shell of your Nobility, this is the Sap that preserves the Bark of your noble Tree, these are the Substance that make you worthy of those Ornaments wherewith you are attir'd, &c. therein placing the worth of this great Statesman, not in his high Birth or glittering Titles, w^{ch} were seven of the highest Dignities at

The EPISTLE.

Court, but in his *noble and vertuous Qualities* shining through the glass of titular Dignities : vicious great ones are apt to measure their own *Fame* by their own *Shadows*, and by the Flatteries of Sycovants about them, when the better such speak of them, the worse the virtuous think of them ; as a good man once said; *Lord what evil have I done that this wicked man praiseth me ?* the judicious will not judge of others so much by their personal Carriage, as by their Company ; when we observe the Ravens and Crows are gathered together croaking we conclude there is Carrion neer that place, it is the unhappiness of vicious Potentates to have all the Beasts & Birds of prey following them by their ill scent , and to have swarms

DEDICATORY.

swarms of Flesh-flies buzzing
their praise, as if every vice were
a virtue ; but it is determined by
a more unchangeable decree than
that of the *Medes* and *Persians*,
that the *Name of the wicked shall rot.*

Prov. 10.
7.

Histories acquaint after ages
with their *Vices* as well as *Vertues*,
and tell the world what cruel
Tyrants, the *Nimrods*, *Pharaohs*,
Herods, &c.

What gross Idolaters, *Ahab*,
Manasses, &c.

Nay prophane Histories pen-
ned by Heathens record to po-
sterity what beastly Drunkards,
&c. Great *Alexander* and his vali-
ant Captains were, that his Dar-
ling *Ephestion*, and soon after him-
self drunk themselves dead whilst
young.

What effeminate leacherous
Sots,

The EPISTLE

Sots, Sardanapalis, Galba, &c.

What traitorous Villains to
their Country, the Catalines, &c.

What lascivious Goats, the
Tarquins, Caligula, &c.

What bloody Persecutors, Do-
mitian, Nero, &c.

What vile Apostates, Julian,
&c.

Though the most vicious of
Popes in their life time usually
enjoy the flattering Titles of Sa-
cred and Holiness, &c. who tho'
Devils incarnate are worship'd
as Gods, yet after they are dead
that irrevokable divine Sentence
Matt. 10. 27. is executed, *What
they do in secret shall be published on
the House-tops:* Histories of their

Genebr.
Onusopb.
Platina,
&c. own tell us who were Atheists,
who Blasphemers,, who Conju-
ters, who Sodomites, who usurp-

ing

DEDICATORY.

ing Tyrants, Murtherers, infallible Hereticks, and who sensual lascivious Adulterers. Now the Wise man, who tells us, *A good Name is better than great Riches*, intends it not only whilst we live but after death, *the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance*: present Applauses are the fading Garlands of all Potentates, good and bad, but future Fame is only the Crown of the vertuous: which your famous Father now wears, and will do, to the shame of his Successors that shall degenerate from his Character, as is declared in the ensuing Poems, pick'd out of the several Prints upon his greatly lamented Death.

His

The EPISTLE

His Family.

His Parantage th' alike ascendant Pow'rs
Of a long Line for famed Ancestors,
In Ormond's Heir the last firm Link he bears
Of one unbroken Chain drawn thro' 4 hundred years,
A Chain which from such ages held so fast,
Must thro' the whole Platonick circle last,
Till wondring time to th' Ormond praise shall tell,
That greatness truly stands that never fell.

His Religion.

His Love to our Religion still was great,
which he profest, not as a trick of State,
Lest he should Favour or an Office want;
His Life as well as Faith was Protestant.

His Loyalty.

At Charles his feet, Charles was his Polar Star,
All his ambitions Circle center'd there;
His Loyalty and Courage were so pair'd,
As if one motion and one life they shar'd:
And three whole Kingdoms Glory but in few
Like him, great, loyal and experienc'd too;
In him alone our Prince was richly blest, (rest;
Had Death spar'd him, Charles might have spar'd the
In his untainted and firm Loyalty,
His constant and oft prov'd Fidelity,

VVhat

DEDICATORY.

*What to his Prince, what to the People due
His honest searching Judgment knew :
Betwixt these two so equally he mov'd
That he by both was equally belov'd.*

His Courage and Valour.

*In Camp ne'r Hector did out-brave
Deaths whistling Messengers to th' grave,
So daringly would he engage
His proudest Enemies in their rage
That who e're once his Courage try'd
Either submitted, fled, or dy'd.
No fear of Death could e'r his Courage stay,
Wherever dangerous Honour led the way;
As if his Hand still the same Trident bore,
When Charles his Thunder shook the Belgick shore;
Whilst Ossory within his floating walls
His valiant sea-born Sons to Honor calls ;
Or let him 'gainst th' insulting Gallick foe
Thro' lanes of death to mouths of Canons go ; At Mons.
Then turn their roaring throats to their own dooms,
Thro' their own hearts unload their sulph'rous wombs.*

His Victories.

*Heer Ossory, let Mons thy deeds proclaim,
And sing an English Generals deathless fame,
Flanders last Battel fought and won by thee ,
A Battel 'gainst a glorious Enemy ,*

Flusht

The EPISTLE

*Flusht with success, and long with Laurels crown'd,
Perhaps before untaught to quit his ground,
A Foe who with his Arts of war prepar'd
Batt'ries and Trenches, and all Natures guard,
Encamp'd with all the advantage of the Field ,
Did only to victorious Courage yield ;
Raising that Siege thou didst such wonders do,
Raise the universal Siege of Flanders too ;
For to that one determinating Blow
The Northern Peace does her foundations owe :
For proud Frances fury, uncontroll'd,
Unbounded, like a fiery Deluge roll'd,
Till Ossory did that great day appear ,
And bid the Conflagration finish there,
Flanders her Peace did to thy Sword assign ,
Whilst the lib'ration of a World was thine ;
The Belgick Lyon from his toyl set free,
And the long plagues of War dispell'd by thee.*

His Publick Spirit.

*He didn't grasp Commands to scrape up Gold,
When he was chief, all Offices were sold
'Tis true ; for what d' you think ? for skill in Arms,
For Vigilance and Courage, those only Charms
Wrought on his Soul ; he that could pay good store
Of Sterling merit, needed pay no more.*

His Diligence.

*His Years were few, and may be quickly told,
But multitudes of Conquests speak him old,*

Con-

DEDICATORY.

Conquests so many, and so speedy too,
That after-times will scarce believe them true.
VVhy should we then complain he's gone too soon?
He perfected his greatest work at noon:
So were the minutes of his life employ'd,
That no man ever longer life enjoy'd:
In hours his active Soul did more atchieve,
Than others that whole tedious ages liye.

His Affability.

In Peace's cooler climes he flourisht too,
Shining and sweetning every air he drew;
His Vertues led a Court, as well as Camp,
And taught 'em Honour of the noblest stamp.
So courtly to his Conversation made,
That in his Face all manly Graces play'd.
Tho' fate and thunder did his Arm surround,
The fires were lambent which his Temples crown'd;
Whilst with those gentle, courteous airs he smil'd,
Calm as Loves Mother, than her Son more mild.

His Humility.

Glory his Breast did fill. but never swell;
Never such Height was so accessible:
No Greatness so familiar, and so free
No Temple to the humblest Votary.

Hic

The EPISTLE

His Charity.

*How many wronged wretches, poor and blind,
Will grope in vain their Remedies to find?
What will the lame maim'd Seamen do, whose Chest
Was Patron Ossory's most munificent brest?*

His Modesty.

*To all, as their deserts were, he was kind,
Still with right Judgment and unbiass'd Mind,
Great without vanity, and without ends just,
Humble tho' honour'd, faithful when in trust;
The dangerous fruits of too great Praises he
Knew well, and to decline them still was free.*

His Sympathy.

*Your bleeding Wounds, who shall hereafter dress
With an indulgent tenderness;
Touch with a melting sympathy
Who shall your wants supply?
Since he, your good Samaritan is gone,
O Charity! thou richest boon of Heaven,
To man in pity given!*

*For when well-meaning Mortals give,
The poors and their own bowels they relieve;
Thou makest us with alacrity to dye,
Miss'd and bewail'd like thee large-hearted Ossory.
Love*

DEDICATORY.

Love to his Country.

*Well might they love him, one so just and good,
Much greater by his Vertues than his Blood,
Who justly still ambition'd a good Name,
Yet lov'd his Country more than he lov'd Fame.*

His Fame.

*Here, Muse, his Praise like thy Parnassus frame
On two twin-mounts of Greatness build his fame,
Thy King his Royal Standard, born by thee,
Could not want Swords, nor they want victory.
Thy Name would rouse all hearts, so strong a charm:
Lodg'd in a Banner wav'd by Ossorys arm.
But stay, these humble Praises are too small,
To say he led, fought, vanquish'd, triumph'd, all,
When his Heroick Vertues spread so far,
The universal darling Son of War,
When ages shall in monumental Brass
Write thy recorded Praise till times last Glass,
And with such Zeal preserve thy hallow'd Shrine
Till the expir'd Worlds last Ashes mix with thine.*

His Lamentation.

*Lament, lament you that dare Honour lye,
And court her at a noble rate
(Your Prowess to approve;)
And blush not to be good, when you grow great,
Such mourners suit his Vertue and his State,*

Cannons

The EPISTLE

Cannons go weep out flames, Culverins go cry
And roar from every Ship and Battery.
With such a Fall our Offory expir'd,
Offory as far lamented as admir'd.)

A Warning to Survivers.

Shrink ye crown'd heads that think your selves secure
And from your mouldring Thrones look down,
Your Greatness cannot long endure,
The King of terrors claims you for his own,
You are Tributaries to his dreadful Crown :
Renown'd, Serene, Imperial, most August
Are only high and mighty Epithets of dust.
In vain, in vain, so high
Our tow'ring Expectations fly,
While the Blossoms of our Hopes, so fresh, so gay,
Appear, and promise Fruit, then fade away.

His Example.

Oh that our Lords would their lost time redeem,
And not so much admire as copy him !
Be good like him, if they'd like him be great,
And be his peers in Virtue as in State.

No further shall I strive for to express
Thy mighty Deeds, weak Praises make them less.

DEDICATORY.

*Plebeius observes, the Romans,
to inflame their Noble Youth to
aspire to Honor, would often
shew them the triumphal Sta-
tues of their Predecessors, which
is the design of annexing these
Poems to this Epistle to pro-
voke your Lordship to imita-
tion.*

*When without your cost, or your great Sires
consent,*

Is rais'd to him a stately Monument :

*When Tombs and Statues crumble all a-
way,*

And gilded Marble Monuments decay,

His History will mortallize his Fame,

To after-ages his great Deeds proclaim :

His Fame is so much fam'd, that he

Can never here forgotten be,

†

Till

The EPISTLE

*Till Ireland its self become
To its own Woods and Bogs a Tomb ,
Till timeless time all things devour ,
By Dooms-day Conflagrations shovr.*

It was a high piece of Prudence in the *Romans* to lower the value of Pecuniar Rewards, and raise the esteem of Honor to the height , in regard a Prince or State by long Wars may drain their Treasury low in Coyn, but the Fountain of Honor can never be drained dry , whilst it is not spilt on unworthy persons, which (though it doth not lessen the bulk, yet) debaseth the Allay of Honor : A private *Roman* Souldier refused a Chain of Gold, as a Reward of his gallant Service , from *Libentius* , *Cesars* Lieu-

DEDICATORY.

Lieutenant General, saying, that he would not have the Reward of the covetous; but of the virtuous.

When *Marcus Marcellus* built a Temple to Honor and Vertue, he made a pertation; so that none could come into the Temple of Honor, but they must first pass through the Temple of Vertue.

Sir,

That your Noble Breast may be as this Temple always close shut against all sorts of vicious Votaries, and that your Life may be, as your Fathers, a patern to all young Gentlemen of truly Noble and Honorable Actions, that your Example may be a Reproof to the vicious, and a Praise

The EPISTLE, &c.

to the vertuous, that you may
live the Joy and dye the Grief of
your Country shall be the Pray-
er of

the most unworthy
of your Lordships
faithful affectionate Servants

R. L.

THE



THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

I Have reason to suspect, all to whom I am known will marvel to see me in Print at this time of day, and the more at the freedom I take both as to persons and things, for whose Satisfaction, and my own Vindication, I think myself bound to give the following account as to my motives thereto.

That having been in this Kingdom *August* next 33 years, one third of my time in a publick capacity in the Civil as well as Military Affairs, and observing my Ignorance of the State, Temper and Con-

The Preface

stitution of the Country disabled me from being capable of giving such an account of several busineses put upon me as was requisite, I addicted my self to the study both of Books and Men of the best and longest experience in the civil Constitution of *Ireland*, by whom I gained some knowledge and inspection, and committed my Observations to Writing.

That for near twenty years past, in my more private capacity, as a member of the Council of Trade, where most of the particulars respecting Trade I publish in this, and design in my *Treatise of Traf-fique, &c.* were deliberated by persons of the highest Characters for Parts and Experience in this Kingdom; amongst whom I found my self but a Novice in the politticks and methods of Trade; which put me upon studying the several Propositions and Questions there propounded, not daring to give my Opinion in so honorable and learned an Assembly without Book, which engaged me to read much History, &c. to find the Opinion and Practice of past times in the respective cases there debated, in observance of the ensuing Instructions.

Instructions

to the Reader.

Instructions for the Council of Trade.

ORMONDE,

First you are to take into your consideration all the native Commodities of the growth and production of this His Majesties Kingdom of Ireland , and how they may be ordered , nourished , encreased and manufactured to the Employments of His Majesties people, and to the best advantage of the publick ; and to consider by what way any of the Manufactures in the said Kingdom are corrupted, debased and disparaged, and by what probable means they may be restored and maintained in their antient Goodness and Reputation.

2. You are to consider whether in the said Kingdom of Ireland the Importation of Foreign Comodities doth not over-ballance the Exportation of such as are Native, and how to advise and propound the most effectual means, that in the said Kingdom the Importations may not exceed the Exports.

3. You are to consider how a Manufacture

The Preface.

of Linnen Cloth and Linnen Yarn may be advanced, and settled in this Kingdom with most advantage to his Majesty and his people.

4. You are to consider by what means the Fishing Trade may be most improved in the said Kingdom of Ireland.

5. You are to consider of all other matters relating to Navigation, and the encrease and security thereof.

6. You are to consider by what particular means Bulloin may be best drawn into Ireland from the Countries of Foreign Princes.

7. You are to consider what Advantages for the Trade of His Majesties liege people are provided for by His Majesties Leagues with any of his Confederates and Allies, and to advise and propound from time to time what is expedient for His Majesty, by his Ministers in Foreign parts, or otherwise to take care, that His Majesties Subjects may (as Justice requires) reap the benefit intended to them by such Leagues in relation to their Trade in Foreign parts.

8. You are to consider how there may be that equal Distribution of Trade and Manufacture, in this Kingdom, which will most conduce to the general good of His Majesties loving Subjects therein.

9. You

to the Reader.

9. You are to consider how convenient and practicable any thing propounded to you may be concerning new Inventions, and Improvements in any Art, Trade or Manufacture, and thereof, as occasion may be, to make report unto Us the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this Kingdom, and Council.

10. You are to consider what means sturdy Vagrants and Beggars may be compelled to earn their living by some lawful Calling.

11. You are to consider by what ways and means Commerce may be promoted, by the Employment of some persons in the mending Highways and Bridges, and making Rivers navigable, and in draining Boggs and Loghs, and recovering Land from the Sea.

12. You are diligently to enquire into the abuses of Weights and Measures practised throughout the said Kingdom, and to consider how the same may be effectually remedied.

13. You are to consider how Correspondencies may be settled in all places of great Commerce abroad, that it may be better known with what profit or los's the native Commodities of this Kingdom are there vent-

ed

The Preface

ed, and what Laws are made, and Trades
new erected there to the advantage of the
Trade of His Majesties Subjects of this
Kingdom.

14. You are faithfully and with speed to
deliver your Opinions in Writing, and so to
make reports thereof to Us the Lord Lieu-
tenant or other Chief Governor or Gover-
nors of this Kingdom and Council concern-
ing the Premises; as likewise concerning
such other matters as shall be occasionally
at any time referred to your consideration.

Given at His Majesties Castle of Dub-
lin the 18th. day of May. 1664.

Ja. Armachanus
Massereene
W. Caulfield
Drogheda
Kingston
Jo. Byffe
G. Wentworth
Arth. Forbes
Theo. Jones.

Maur. Eustace Canc.
Mich. Dublin
Joh. Clogher
Hen. Medensis
Hen. Tichburne
John Temple
Paul Davies
James Ware

First

to the Reader.

First Meeting May 26. 1664.

Present

Lord Primate, Lord Chancellor, Lord Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, Lord Bishop of *Meath*, Lord Chief Justice *Donelan*, Lord *Massereene*, Sir *Paul Davies*, Sir *John Percivall*, Sir *Robert Meredith*, Sir *Robert Forth*, Sir *John Temple* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Edward Massey* all of the Privy Council ; besides the Mayor and Recorder of *Dublin*, with seven or eight Aldermen, Sir *Audly Mervin*, Sir *John Temple* the Kings Sollicitor General, Serjeant *Griffith*, and several chief Lawyers, and other Gentlemen, and principle Merchants, who after reading the Commission and Instructions chose Committees to prepare Business, appointed time and place for the weekly Meeting, and adjourned.

And so continued their constant weekly Meetings for several years in debate of these general Heads of Instruction and their Branches ; and after the greatest deliberation, sometimes two or three months upon one Instruction, agreed and resolved

The Preface

resolved several of them into Reports to the Council-Board the particular Heads of the said Reports, as they are registred in their Books, take as followeth.

A Table to the Register-Book.

Reports upon your Graces Commission for regulating the Herring-fishing in Dublin Harbour, fol. 1, 2.

Linnen Manufacture, 3, 4.

Fishing in the Isles of Buffen and Clare, 5.

Free ports, 6.

For Farming the Excise, 7, 8, 9.

Reasons for the prohibiting Foreign growth Manufactures, fol. 9, 10.

Light Houses, 11.

For the transporting Felons that receive the benefit of their Clergy, 12.

For the encouragement of the Manufacture of Stuffs, 13, 14.

For the better ordering the Post-Office, 15.

Small Money.

For the regulating the Weights and Measures, 20 to 24.

For more easie and speedy Recovery of small Debts, and prevention of Arrests upon false Actions, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

Mariners

to the Reader.

Marriners to be regulated, 26.

Regulating Protections, 29.

Arguments against the Act prohibiting our Transportation of Cattel, 30, 31, 32, 33.

Against Importation of Hats, 34, 35.

A general Subscription proposed against wearing foreign Manufactures, 36.

About Fewel to furnish our selves without Foreign supplies with Cole, and Turf, 41.

About regulating the Shooemakers, and lowering the price of Boots and Shooes, fol. 42, 43, 44.

A Report for the printing Colonel Lawrences Directions for the planting Hemp and Flax, 45, 46, 48, 49.

That every Female above twelve years of age shall produce a proportion of Woollen, Worsted or Linnen Tarn every year 47.

To prevent abuses in slaughtering Cattel, and packing Beef and Pork, fol. 50, 51.

Rules to prevent false packing of Butter, 52, 53.

A general Estimate of Trade, and Experiments proposed for the Improvements thereof, 54, 55, 56.

But

The Preface

But the Duke of Ormond leaving the Government before a Parliament met, or those capable of forming into Acts of State, performed or put in practice; as the Council of Trade was their Nursery, so the Council-Table became their Sepulchre, where they remain in their Urn to this day, and not like to have a resurrection whilst the Realm is under such a consternation; and consequently the Government incumbered with the variety of Affairs relating to the preservation of the whole; as these late horrid Popish Plots have brought us under.

For before the Dukes removal most of the Privy Council, and other principal Ministers of State seemed exceeding fond of all proposals tending to the Improvement of the Trade and Manufacture of the Nation, and resolved to put the Act of Parliament for the Linnen Manufacture in practice at *Chappelizod*.

And although I gave my Opinion against the Report in the Council of Trade, and my Argument at Council-Table against the practice of that Act until a Parliament met to mend it; yet they were pleased not only to make an

Expe

to the Reader.

Experiment in the case, but also to pitch upon my self (admitting of no excuse) to manage it ; which, after three or four months sollicitation, I only submitted to until some other fit person could be procured : but the Duke removing, what Discouragements I received, and Loss and Damage I sustained under the Regency of his Successors I shall give an Account of in my *Treatise of Manufacture*, which will give some further Evidence of the difference betwixt a Kingdom being governed by persons peculiarly interested in its prosperity, and others Aliens to its peculiar Interest.

Now having been so long and so much engaged in the Affairs of *Ireland* of this nature, and being hopeless to live to see such a vigorous Spirit for *Irelands* Improvement revived in the Government, as was from the year 64. to the year 69. lest the succeeding Generation should be discouraged attempting *Irelands* Improvement in Trade and Manufactures, from the common Fame of so many Miscarriages in these former Attempts, I thought it my duty to leave these Memoires for their Information : though I should have been

The Preface.

been glad a more polite pen had performed it : yet having taken so much pains, spent so much time, and attained so much dear bought Experience in this Affair, I shall submit the censure of my integrity and prudence in this publication to the charitable judicious, and slight the Reflections of others.

In Matter of Fact I have not presumptuously erred, sparing no pains to find out the Truth , by Inquisition of the most knowing persons , and searching all Records and Histories I could come at : yet in an Affair consisting of so many Heads some mistakes may happen; but if I have over-estimated some particulars, others are as much under ; and if I do allow Five hundred thousand pounds deduction from the Ballance of our fifteen years Consumption, computed *Ch.4.* the Remain is sufficient to move the Government to take the Consumption into consideration.

For my intruding upon politicks of Government, I endeavour to confine my self within the verge of such particulars, as have a strong ruling influence over the Trade and Wealth of a Country, and

to the Reader.

and the most apt Mediums to improve a Kingdom or State in Trade without proper Maxims and suitable practice in Rulers, can never reach their Designs, the whole success of Trade depends upon the Principles and Inclinations of the ruling part of a State.

For my Reflections on Principles of Religion, I designed only to hint those that relate to the civil Policy and Peace of the Kingdom; and I think I have confined my self within that verge, not touching on one Controversie betwixt Protestants; insisting only upon the uncharitable, nay, I may say, unchristian Severities and Censures practised by the rigid of both parties, to the grief and burden of the more pious and moderate.

Empty Casks make the greatest sound; which I only reprove; and plead for a charitable Union wherein we agree, in order to the Promulgation of our common Faith, and Preservation of the common Protestant Interest of *Ireland*, &c.

† †

And

The Preface.

And I judge the Prosperity of the Trade and Wealth of *Ireland* is much concerned therein; as is stated in my Supplement.

What I observe of the bloody Principles and Practices of the Papists is but Historical, being Collections out of authentick Authors, most of their own; and that only to these ends.

First, To awaken some drowsie Protestants, who seem to be lulling asleep on *Dallilahs* Lap, where they may expect to have their Locks cut, wherein their great strength lies; and then will soon follow, *The Philistines be upon thee, Sampson*. It is grievous to observe how many Protestants greedily lick up the Papists Debaucheries; as if they were vying which should fill up the measure of our Iniquity soonest, and provoke a jealous God most, to send new desolating Judgments upon us; not considering that this is the Jesuited Papists method, to debauch in Manners in order to corrupt in Principle; knowing that when Conscience

to the Reader.

ence is feared by a custom of Sins against the second Table Precepts, all Religions will soon be alike to such. And the matter is not great to themselves which they choose : for God hath determined that no impenitent Drunkard, Adulterer, profane Swearer, &c. shall be saved, *Luke* 13. 3. *Acts* 3. 19. 7. 13. whether they be Papists, Protestants, or Dissenters from both ; but of all Religions in the world, if you resolve to spend your days *in rioting and excess, in chambering and wantonness, &c.* and venture your Souls on a death-bed Repentance, be Papists, where Pardon of Sin is said to be obtained, at least, purchased by a meer verbal Confession, tho' there be no Contrition appear, nor protest purpose to reform, if you live, as I evidence in my Supplement from their own Authors.

But let all this sort of Protestants consider, the Papists in *October* and *November* 1641. made no distinction betwixt the precise and profane ; the Protestant and the Puritan were equal Hereticks with them, with whom no Faith is to be kept,

The Preface

nor Mercy to be shown, when their Destruction tends to the Advancement of the Catholick Cause.

My second End is to warn the more serious and better principled Papists, to save themselves, their Families and Country from further desolation by these Jesuitical bloody Principles ; whereby some of their Priests have so often brought upon them, and are now again plotting to compass their total ruine and destruction; and had before this in all probability caused *Ireland* once more to swim in Blood, even the Blood of Women and Children, and other innocent persons, both of Papists and Protestants, if God had not touch'd the Hearts of some of their own Priests, &c. to be Discoverers.

Therefore since it is manifest, all Papists are not poysoned with *Tridentine* bloody Principles; pity it is the more Innocent should be involved in the miseries and mischiefs of the Guilty.

And that less than a total extirpation
of

to the Reader.

of Protestantism or Popery can be the issue of the next Rebellion is irrational to believe; and as irrational to think it is possible for the Papists to carry the day, if they consider the Disadvantage they are now under above what they were in 1641. And therefore have I asserted it their Safety and Interest to promote the potency of the *English* Interest amongst them, as the only Medium to prevent their future Calamity.

The Searcher of Hearts knows I have not the least Gall or prejudice against Papists *qua* Papists : I have many intimate Acquaintance and kind Friends amongst them with whom I willingly exchange kindnesses , whose ruine and misery would greatly afflict me : and hundreds of them yet living will and daily do acknowledge , when it was in the power of my Hand to do them harm , it was in my Heart to do them good : many of them have removed out of other Precincts to come under my Government and Protection ; and in the time of the first Court of Claims addressed themselves

The Preface

to me, as their common Sollicitor, if they had but the least pretence to Innocency or of Kindness shewn to the *English* in their distress: and as it never was, so it is not now my design to incense their *English* Neighbours against them; but should rather rejoice to further an increasing neighbourly Friendship betwixt them on equal and safe terms, much less is it my principle, or the least of my design to provoke the Government to persecute them, desiring to walk by that Golden rule, to do to others as I would they should do to me: all I aim at is to lay before the eyes of them sound in Morals the perniciousness of those Jesuitical Principles, which I have reason to suspect they have never read or heard of, and if they did, never seriously consider the malignant nature and desperate consequences of them; though they have not only made *Ireland* but all Christendom swim in Blood, as appears *Supplement Sect. 5.*

And that torrent can never be stop'd, nor *Ireland's* Peace never secured, until these bloody savage *Tridentine* principles are

to the Reader.

are renounced: surely the *Romish* Church was more Catholick before *Ignatius Loyola* broach'd his hellish Doctrines than it can be since: for the better half of the Christians of *Europe* then in their Communion are since broken off; he being the first of their Fathers that vehemently maintained and rebelliously defended the Popes Supremacy over Emperors and Kings, &c. so far as to proclaim it lawful, nay meritorious, to destroy its opposers; a Doctrine that hath been exploded, and its Propagaters banished by all the Princes and States of their own Religion, when they have found their own Estates in danger by it; as I shew in my Supplement.

And why they who so much glory in their Antiquity, and so frequently challenge our Protestant Divines, to shew them where our Religion was before *Luther*, should imbibe a Religion they cannot shew where it was before *Loyola*, so many years his *junior*, is hard to give the reason of; unless it be this one, that since the Light of the Gospel hath shined

n the world , their Deeds of Darkness could no ways be hid, nor defended either by Scripture or Reason , only by bloody War and cruel Inquisition, by destroying the Lives of their Opponents in order to shut their eyes and stop their mouths. And having thus far endeavoured to vindicate my self against the censure of Presumption in treating upon Politicks, and from uncharitable Severity in my Descants on Religion, I shall submit the whole to the Judgment of the charitable judicious; and for the rest, as much slight their Censure, as they despise my Labour.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

Shewing the reasons why *Ireland* is so little improved in Trade and Wealth.

1. *From the Impediments it is subject unto not common to other Countreys, Pag. 1*
1 Impediment, The unsettledness of the Coun-try, p. 2, 3, 4
- 2 *Impediment, From the perplexity of the minds of the people, p. 5*
- 3 *Impediment, From its plenty of Prov-i-sion, p. 5, 6.*
- 4 *Impediment, From the height of the In-terest of Money, p. 7*
- 5 *Impediment, From the lowness of Farming, and purchasing Land, p. 7*
- 6 *Impediment, From the low esteem the ge-nerous*

The Contents.

- norous and worshipful Calling of a Merchant is of in the Countrey, p. 8, 9*
- 7 Impediment, is from the lowness of the Credit of the Tradesmen of the Countrey, p. 10*
1. *Arising from the delatoriness of Law proceedings, ibid.*
2. *From the smallness of their Stocks, ibid.*
3. *From the bad payment the Gentry, &c make to the Tradesmen, ib.*
- Expediences proposed for remedy of this grand obstruction, p. 11, 12, 13*
- Honourable Titles are made contemptible by dishonourable qualities, p. 15*
- Theodosius the Emperor made severe Edicts to reform it, p. 16*
- Our Virgin Queen was careful of the Virginity of Honour, ib.*
- The Institution of Baronists by King James with their qualifications, p. 16, 17*

CHAP. II.

SHews the second Head of the Causes of Irelands not improving in Trade, &c is from its excessive consumption of foreign growth and Manufacturies, p. 18

Why some Countreys may consume more than other

The Contents.

- others with much less damage, p. 19
- The vast consumption of our Wealth by foreign Silks, &c. exceeding twenty to one above our Grand-fathers, which ruine our own Manufacturies, p. 20, 21
- France gains by their gay Attire and modes, ibid.
- If poor Ireland imitate rich England in Garb, it will be begger'd, p. 22
- Englands care to prevent their ruine by excess in Apparel, by sumptuary Laws, p. 23, 24, 25
- The spruce Garb, especially of the meaner sort, besides the consumption of our Wealth, is attended with many other intollerable inconveniences, p. 26, 27, 28
- Not only England, but the Jews and Heathens had their sumptuary Laws, by which Harlots or Women of ill fame were prescribed their Attire. p. 29, 30
- The contempt put upon gay Clothes by the most Puissant and Wise Emperors and Princes, p. 30, 31, 32
- We consume more by riot and excess than the Kings Revenue amounts to, p. 32, 33
- The opinion of Mr. Fuller, Luther, and Bishop Hall, of this Childish vanity of gay Clothes, p. 33, 34, 35

CHAP.

The Contents.

CHAP. III.

- O**F Wealth-consuming, and Trade-ob-
structing Debaucheries, p. 37
1. Profane Oaths, p. 38, 39
Bishop Hall's Censure, p. 39, 40
*Profane swearing is the preparatory cause
of false swearing*, p. 40
*The viciousness of the Papals in point of
Perjury*, p. 41
*Whilst profane Swearing passeth for a ve-
nial; false swearing will never be esteem-
ed a mortal sin*, p. 42
2. Wealth-consuming Debauchery, is Ga-
ming, p. 42
1. High Gaming amongst the Gentry, pag.
42, 43
2. Chiefly peasantly and mechanick Game-
sters, that consume their time and money
in Bowling-Alleys. p. 43
3. Wealth-wasting Debauchery is Whore-
ing, p. 44
1. The wealthier sort in their costly Misses,
alias Strumpets, p. 46, 48
*It fills the Countrey with Bastards, to the
great charge of Parishes*, p. 45
*The several motives to Strumpets to pro-
strate themselves*, p. 46, 47 This

The Contents.

- This Vice effeminate a people, and unsuits them for warlike Employment, p. 48,*
Several Instances of the ruining nature of this vice, p. 48, 49
The severity of the Laws and punishment of this Sin by Turks and Pagans, p. 49, 50

CHAP. IV.

Of the most Wealth-consuming Debau-chery of Drunkenness.

- The dismal effects of it, p. 51*
Bishop Hall's Sentence, p. 52, 53
Luther's opinion, p. 54
The great consumption of Wealth by our Wine-bibbers, p. 54
By our Ale-topers, ibid.
The loss of the labour of many persons able to work, employed as Drawers and Tapsters, &c. p. 55
The damage of our Manufactures by Drunkenness, ibid.
Youth debauch'd by drunken Masters, and Masters undone by drunken servants, p. 56
Drunkenness a sin oft inflicted upon a Nation in judgment, and a fore-runner of destruction, p. 57

Expe-

The Contents.

Expedients proposed for remedy, p. 57

1. *Statutes against it to be executed upon
Tiplers and Taverns*, ibid.
2. *Observes how the lives and healths of
many persons are destroyed by it.*
3. *The ensnaring practice of healthing to
be restrain'd and rejected, especially at
the Tables of Magistrates and persons of
Quality*, p. 58, 59

*The practice of Healthing sinful both in the
Provoker and Acceptor*, p. 60

*Heathens abominated and severely punish'd
Drunkenness, of which several Exam-
ples*, p. 61

*Drunkenness hath been the ruine of many
great Kingdoms and States, instance,
p. 62, 63, 64*

*The opprobrious Epithetes given of Drunk-
ards by Heathens*, p. 64, 65

Drunkenness fatal to Armies, p. 65, 66,
67, 68

CHAP. V.

*Observing the spring from whence all the
Debauchery of Christendom flows.*

Debauch'd Christians worse than de-
bauch'd Pagans, p. 69

Debau-

The Contents.

- Debauchery in Christendom proceeded from
the Fountain of all filthiness, Rome, p. 70*
*Holy Places, holy Ceremonies, &c. crowded
holy lives out of the Church, ibid.*
Confest by their own Prelats, p. 71
*Declared by Luther in his Genealogie of the
Pope, as Anti-Christ, p. 72, 73*
*Consciences once seared by a custom of Im-
moralities, can never long struggle for
truth in Divinity, p. 73*
*The present generation of Debauches in
Christendom exceed all we ever read of
in former ages, or Pagan Nations, p. 74*
*Some live as if they had abandoned all
thoughts of future State, all belief of a
God, Judgment, Heaven or Hell. They
turn all seriousness either in Divinity or
Morality into a Ridicule, p. 76*

CHAP. VI.

States the intollerable charge *Ireland* is
at by maintaining Foreigners to its pe-
culiar interest in the most profitable
Employments.

1. *By the Court of Claims, p. 79*
2. *By Farmers of the Kings Reve-
nue, p. 80* ††† 3. *The*

The Contents.

3. *The Contractors for the Treasury*, p. 81
4. *Pensions and Annuities to Absentees*,
p. 82
5. *Foreign Merchants and their Factors*,
p. 82, 83
6. *Trading in Foreign Ships*, p. 83
7. *By Absentees drawing over the Rents*,
p. 84, 85, 86, 87
8. *The Attendants of our Nobility, &c. at
Court, the charge of new Honours and
Offices*, p. 88

*The charge of Educating the Sons of Noble
Persons, &c. in Foreign Universities and
Inns of Court*, p. 87

*The whole Charge of Ireland in the several
Branches, computed to nine hundred and
thirteen thousand, four hundred sixty five
pounds four shillings per annum. And
amounts to for the period of 15 years, to
thirteen millions, five hundred and twelve
thousand, six hundred and sixty pounds,
thirteen shillings and ten pence.*

T H E

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
SECOND PART.

CHAP. I.

- Of Banks and Corporation-Trade, the several kinds of Banks, p. 1, 2.
Land or dry Banks most suitable for Ireland, p. 3.
Ireland's great damage by Insolvent Bankers, p. 4.
The Method of this dry Bank, p. 5.
Holland and Venice, &c. raised themselves by Banks and Company Trade, p. 6.
The Constitution of the Dutch East-India Company, p. 7.
The benefit of the Bankers by their joint Stock in Trade, p. 8.
The Royal Countenance necessary to secure the Credit of the Bank, p. 9.*

The Contents.

- The benefit of this Bank Credit to a Country in General, p. 10.*
It will lower Interest, ibid.
Lower Exchange, p. 11.
Propagate Manufactures, p. 11.
Banks will enable Trades-men with small Stocks to manage great Trades, p. 12.
Secure the Peace as well as increase the Wealth of Ireland, p. 12.
Banks, &c. will rescue our Trade out of the hands of Foreigners, p. 13.
Banks, &c. will increase our Shipping, and promote the Fishing Trade, ibid.
Bank Security more safe, more ready, and less troublesome than any other Species, p. 14.
Banks a great conveniency : 1. To Gentlemen possessing Estates in several parts of the Kingdom, securely to return their rent, &c. p. 15.
A great encouragement to young Merchants with small Stocks, ibid.
To Clothiers, Tanners, Chandlers, &c. where Markets fail, p. 16.
To persons surprised by Judgments before they can raise Money, ibid.
A great convenience to the Nobility and Gentry, ibid.

The Contents.

- To the poor and needy*, p. 17
The Hans-Towns of Germany raised their Trade by Banks, ibid.
The great Trade of the Guild of the Hance in the Stillyards in London, erected and managed by Banks, p. 18
England, Ireland's best example, which was as low in Trade as Ireland is now, till improved by Banks, ibid.
The Kings and Parliaments of England have encouraged and augmented their Trade by countenancing the old, and erecting new Corporations of Trade, p. 19
No Expedient but this one can promote the Trade of Ireland, p. 20
Corporation-Trade opposed in England, by whom, and with what success, p. 21, 22
By Company-Trade the English and Dutch, &c. have diverted the Trade of Venice, &c. and sell Persian and Indian Commodities where they used to buy, p. 22, 25
The Indies unknown until Company-Trade discovered them, p. 23
England and Holland obtain'd their great Trade and their true Religion together, by sheltering persecuted Christians, ibid.

The Contents.

- Spanish, &c. Inquisitions, a persecution
drove away their Trade, ibid.
- When the Dutch and English sent their
first Fleets to the East-Indies, p. 24, 27
- Corporation-Trade hath enrich'd all places
of its residence, p. 25, 26
- When England prohibited the Transporta-
tion of Wools, and Importing foreign
Cloath, p. 25
- The Original and great Wealth of the East-
India Company at London, p. 27
- His present Majesty hath Confirmed the
Companies; He Founded and Erected the
African, &c. Honoured it with Royal
and Noble Members and Dignities, p. 28
- The inconveniency of a confused Trade in
the hands of particular Merchants to
themselves and the Countrey, p. 29, 30
- The Authors Experience of it in Tallow
and Wools, &c. p. 31, 32
- Why, though England, &c. divides their
Trade into several Companies, Ireland
should have but one, p. 33
- Why the ancient Guild of the Hance after
above 300 years flourishing, was dis-
priviledg'd, p. 33, 34.
- The Solvency of Bank-Security, p. 35,
36, 37.

The

The Gontents.

- The method of managing the Bank, p. 37, 38*
To place the Authority of the Bank, &c. by
Act of State on the Statute Staple until
a Parliament meet, p. 39, 46
The only Expedient to prevent the Trans-
portation of our Wools, p. 39, 40, 41, 42
The Original of the Guild of the Hance
very ancient, p. 43
The great benefit the Kings of England
made of the Staple, and how it was mov'd
from place to place, and striven for by
all places, p. 44, 45

C H A P. II.

The Interest of England to promote the
Prosperity of the English Interest of
Ireland.

Argued from the different Constitu-
tion of Ireland now to what it was
before the last Rebellion, p. 1.

The English the greatest Proprietors of
Land, and chiefly inhabiting Cities and
Wall-Towns, p. 48

The last Act of Settlement differs from all
former Royal Grants in several consid-
erable particulars, to the advantage of

The Contents.

- the English Interest*, p. 50
Ireland under the sole Government of English Magistrates, p. 51
England can in nothing so much promote the prosperity of the English Interest of Ireland, as by countenancing its Trade, p. 51
Englands only way to secure its self against Foreign Invasions, and ruine of its Trade, is to promote the Potency of the English Interest in Ireland, p. 52
Englands neglect herein was the cause of the late Massacre and Rebellion, p. 53
The neglect hereof hath cost England more Money, &c. than Ireland is worth, ibid.
Lord Deputy Sidney of the same opinion, p. 54
Neglecting Trade and Manufacturie, the cause of the degenerating of the English, and why, p. 55
Multitudes of Irish Papists are now English Protestants, p. 55, 56, 58
Mr. Spencers and Heilins opinion of the best way to promote the Protestant Religion in Ireland, p. 56, 57
Ireland now so constituted, it cannot fail of an English Protestant Parliament, p. 58
The names and numbers of the Corporations of

The Contents.

of Ireland sending Members to Parliament,

p. 59 to 63

A Catalogue of the present Peers of Ireland
summon'd to Parliaments, in two Columns;
by which may be observ'd, the Protestant
Peers far exceed the Papists in number
and interest, p. 63, to 67

A Catalogue of the Nobility of Ireland, anno 1571.

And another 1641. by which may be ob-
serv'd the antiquity and precedence of
the present Noble Families of Ireland,
p. 70, to 73

It is the interest of the Irish Papists to pro-
mote the Potency of the English Interest
of Ireland, p. 73

Though the subduing of the many Rebellions
bath cost England dear, yet the Irish at
last paid the reckonings, p. 73

Englands ancient claim to the Sovereignty
of Ireland, and the Legality and Just-
ness of their Title by Conquest, p. 73,
to 75

The weakness of the English Interest of Ire-
land the cause of the many Rebellions
since they deriv'd their States and Ho-
nours from the Crown of England, p. 75

The degenerate English more dangerous
Rebels

The Contents.

- Rebels than the Native Irish*, p. 76
The Popes Instigation and Encouragement to Desmond and Thomas Fitz-Gerald to rebell, and to root out the Protestant Religion, as a mad and venomous Doctrine, and bellish Opinion, p. 76
Bishop Usher in his Speech to the Assemblies of the States of Ireland, April 1627 asserts this opinion, that it is the Interest of the Papists to promote the potency of the English Interest in Ireland, p. 77, to 80
Henry the 4th. of France refuseth, but Philip of Spain accepts of the Donation of Ireland from the Pope. The Spaniard never throve since, p. 77
Bishop Usher's Prophecy of dismal times to come on the Protestants by the Papists; yet though sharp, will be but short, p. 81, 82
The English great Plenty and Debaucherie made them ripe for destruction, p. 82
A hint of the most barbarous Tortures and inhumane Cruelties of the Irish upon the naked secure English, p. 82, 83
The excellent natural temper of the Irish, evidenceth that the barbarous Cruelties proceeded from the bloody Principles infused

The Contents.

- fused into them by their Priests, p. 85, 86.
Their observation of the weakness of the
English as to Arms, their great Encou-
rage ment to rise, p. 85
- The Dismal destruction God brought on the
Irish by the Sword, Plague, and Famine,*
p. 87, 88
- The most sober of the Irish approved this
Notion in the year 1651, 1652. that it
is their interest to promote the Potency
of the English Interest,* p. 88
- All Irish Papists are not infected with Je-
suitical bloody Principles, but many of
them good Subjects, and good Neighbours,
p. 89
- It is the interest of the Irish Papists in any
capacity to live to promote the English
Interest to that Potency, as all attempts
to disturb it might appear irrational and
desperate, p. 90
- It would encourage their Industry in Plant-
ing and Trading, p. 90
- It would incline the the most sober Papists
to enquire into the differences about Re-
ligion, if from under the dread of the
Potency of the Popish Clergie, p. 91
- Their ignorance of the Scriptures the reason
of their Errors, p. 92

The

The Contents.

The novelty of the rebellious bloody Principles rejected by the ancient Roman-Church above 600 years after Christ,

P. 93, 94

The equal Peace and Prosperity, Honour and Trust, Love and Friendship Irish Papists, not Jesuited, might enjoy, if they would secure the English against the fear of Massacres, &c. p. 94, 95

Sect. the second, p. 96. asserts it, above all other, the Protestants of Ireland are obliged to promote the Potency of the English Interest there.

But in regard (through mistake) the Pages are not figured, I can only refer to the supposed Letter of the Alphabet, which the Reader may soon perform with his Pen.

The Argument to secure themselves against the miseries of 41, being repeated, p. 96.

- 1st. *Expedient, to plant our Wall'd Towns, and erect new where needed to be done, without charge by Manufacturies, p. A.*
2. *To Institute Laws against single life, with the reasons, p. A. B. C.*
3. *Above all other Expedients, to endeavour*

The Contents.

deavour a right understanding betwixt
all Protestants sound in Fundamentals,
&c, p. C.

Bishop Bramhall's opinion concerning Cri-
minal Schism, p. E.

Bishop Bramhall, Taylor, Sanderson and
Hall, &c. differ from our fiery Zealots,
who esteem all Separations Criminal
Schism, and more sinful than Drunken-
ness, Swearing, Whoring, &c. it is the
Jesuits, not the Protestant Divines op-
inion, p. F.

The sober Dissentors agree with the Church
in all Fundamentals both Positive and
Negative, p. F. and G.

They maintain not only Internal but Ex-
ternal Communion with the establish'd
Church in all Essentials, p. G.

The Jews had their several Sects, yet all
esteemed Israelites while they adhered to
Moses Law.

The German Lutherans and Calvinists
more differ, yet esteem each other Pro-
testants, p. H.

It is a preposterous Zeal, like Hell, hot
without light, that makes different Op-
nions, different Religions, saith Bishop
Bramhall, p. E.

The

The Contents.

The Papists, who glory much in their Unity, are much more divided in Doctrine, &c. and yet esteem each other Catholicks, p. H. I.

If the Protestant Dissenters were as malignant against the Church as the Papists, yet they could not be dangerous, p. I. K. L.

Irrational for Dissenters, Papists or others, to expect protection from a Prince or State; to whom they will not give all Security in their power for their Loyalty, p. L. M.

Dissenters ought to avoid all occasions of appearing, or being engaged in any Faction in a State, or reflecting on the Religion established; asserted from Scripture Instances, p. M. N. O.

Errors in Schism more sinful than Errors in Conformity, p. O. P.

The Authors Apologie for his Essay to Union, with his reasons how much the safety and prosperity in Trade and Wealth depend on it, p. Q. R.

CHAP.

The Contents.

CHAP. III.

ASSERTS IRELAND'S INTEREST IN ITS OWN GOVERNMENT, IN WHAT CASES EXCEPTED, p. 96, 97

THE MOST EXPEDITIOUS AND EFFECTUAL WAY TO SECURE AND PLANT IRELAND WITH ENGLISH, IS BY THE ARMIES, AND HOW TO BE MANAGED, p. 97, 98

THE NEGLECT THEREOF THE RUINE OF THE ENGLISH, THE LAST MASSACRE, p. 98

IN WHAT CASES, BY THE CIVIL LIST, &c. PRE-FERMENTS, IRELAND MAY BE ADVANTAGED BY SENDING PERSONS FROM ENGLAND, p. 99

WHAT REASON OF STATE THERE WAS HERETOFORE TO GOVERN IRELAND BY MINISTERS OF STATE OUT OF ENGLAND, &c. ARE CEASED NOW, p. 100, 101

REASONS WHY PERSONS UNACQUAINTED WITH THE HUMOUR AND STATE OF IRELAND, CANNOT SO WELL SECURE ITS PEACE, NOR PROMOTE ITS PROSPERITY, AS ITS OWN MEMBERS, p. 102, to 114

WHAT ARE THE DISCOURAGEMENTS TO PERSONS IN ENGLAND FROM SETLING UPON THEIR ESTATES IN IRELAND, p. 105, 106

PREFIDENTS BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN OF PRINCES,

The Contentſt

ces, &c. Gouerning their Tributary Provinces by their own Princes and Nobles, p. 107

It hath beene the practice of the Kings of England ſince the Conqueſt, to Govern Ireland by Interested Persons, p. 108,

Gaſes excepted when England had reaſon to ſend over persons diſinterested, but are all now removed, p. 110, 111

The Duke of Ormond hath enjoyed the longest Regency, and undergone the greatest difficulties of any Vice-Roy ſince the Conqueſt, and why, p. 112, 113

His Loyalty not only applauded by the King, &c. but his Service in Ireland ap- proved by the English Parliament, who offered him great rewards, if he would have accepted of them, p. 113

Mr. Spencer of my opinion, p. 114

So Giraldus Cambrenſis, p. 115

So Sir Hen. Wooten, p. 107

The Objection anſwered why I term English Protestants aliens to Irelands Interest,

p. 115, 116, 117

The case of the English in Ireland differs from all other Tributary Countreys, they being not the Conquered, but the Con- querors,

The Contents.

querors, by vertue of whose blood, and
the blood of their Ancestors, Ireland was
subjected to the Crown, p. 118

They are more obliged to secure the interest
of the Crown, than that is to protect
them, ibid.

1000 men raised in Ireland worth 2000
fresh-men brought from England for that
service, ibid.

The sufferings themselves and their Proge-
nitors have undergone, deeply engageth
them to be true to, and resolute in de-
fence of the English Interest above all
others, p. 119

Spencer of the same opinion, p. 120

So Livy, p. 121

A Catalogue of the Lord Lieutenants, &c.
in two Columns; to evidence the authen-
tickness of this opinion by the practice of
our Princes since the Conquest, p. 122 to
156

A Copy of the present Establishment of Ire-
land, p. 156 to p. 162

A Table for reducing Plantation-Acres into
English, &c. p. 162, 163

The establishment of the Subsidies of Ire-
land, p. 164 to 172

The Contents.

CHAP. VI.

On Coins.

IN answer to this Question, whether it be
advisable to enhance the Value, or de-
base the Alloy of the currant Money of
Ireland, p. 137 to 188

The Contents of the Supplement, p. 181

S E C T. I.

THe Objection answered. If the Govern-
ment of Ireland by its own Members
be of so great advantage to the Trade
and Wealth of Ireland, why was it no
more advanc'd under the Lords Justices
and Duke of Ormond in their nine years
Government, p. 181 to 190

Sect. 2. Answering the Objection, p. 93
What those Popish Principles are that make
them so desperately dangerous to humane
Society.

i. Not the Religion of their Church rela-
ting

The Contents.

- ting to Worship, but the Policies of their State respecting Government, p. 193,
194.
Their Principles inconsistent with humane Society abstracted, p. 195, 196, to 199
Their Principles of Treason and Rebellion, &c. collected, p. 200, to 203
The Comment or Gloss made on their inhumane rebellious Principles by their own Authors, p. 204, to 207
Since all these wicked Principles have attended the Popes pretended Infallibility and Supremacie; from whence did they proceed.

Answered,

1. Negatively, not from Christ nor his Apostles, nor from the ancient Fathers nor Councils, p. 208, 209
2. Positively, from Usurpation, Treachery and Rebellion, p. 210

SECT. II.

Shewing the Original of their bloody Principles, p. 211

The Jesuits first adopted them who are charactered by the locusts, prophesied of to ascend out of the Bottomless pit, Rev. 9. p. 211, 212

The Contents.

*No other Votaries or Orders of Friars, &c.
answers the description, p. 213*

*The design of their Institution by the Pope
was to manage his Treasons, &c. against
Princes, p. 214*

SECT. III.

*Showeth that no Authority but the Pope and
his Illegal Council of Trent ever con-
firm'd their Institution, p. 214*

*The Illegality of the Council of Trent pro-
ved, p. 215, 216, 217*

*Rome is no Mother-Church, nor Mistress of
other Churches, and why, p. 218*

*Rome only hath the Primacy in Apost-
acie, ibid.*

*The testimony of Rome's vile Apostacie
from her own Learned and Applauded
Authors, p. 219, 220, 221*

*The bloody work Rome's Apostacy and the
Pope's Rebellion against Emperors, &c.
made in Italy, p. 222*

*They enjoyed not the Supremacie until they
had so vexed and wearied the Emperors,
that to stay the stream of blood they kept
running in Christendom, they permitted
them to do what they pleased, p. 222*

All

The Contents.

All Papists in Ireland not jesuited Papists,
p. 222, 223
Not only their principles, but their persons
and Order exploded, and banisht bymost
Popish Princes and States, p. 223, 224

SECT. IV.

Of the natural consequences of their inhu-
mane principles, p. 225
They abrogate all Laws of Humanity and
Divinity, p. 225, 226
The iniquity of their principles aggravated
by fathering their villanies on innocent
persons, p. 227
The Popes advantage above all Tyrants in
the World to Massacre and Assassinate by
his Emissaries in all parts, to perform
his pleasure, p. 228
Instances of their detestable stabbing and
poysoning of Princes, &c. ibid.
They have made Temples and Sanctuaries
their Slaughter-houses in time of Wor-
ship, ibid.
They have poysoned their Disciples by the
Sacramental Wine, p. 229
What vicious men many of their infallible
Popes have been, ibid.

The Cqntents.

Like Popes like Priests, like Priests like People, p. 230

SECT. V.

Shews their Tyrannical practice since they usurpt the Supremacy, p. 231

Instances of Emperors and Princes Excommunicated, Deposed and Destroyed by them, p. 232, 233

Their imperious insultings over mighty Princes submitting to their censure,
p. 234

The reason why so many High-born, Potent Princes have so sordidly subjected themselves to their Tyranny, is from Gods judgment upon them, p. 235

Princes no sooner become Slaves to the Pope, but turn Tyrants over their own Subjects, ibid.

After his Holiness became his Mightiness, he contented not himself to insult over some Christian Princes by the aid of others, but brought them all to lay their profane necks under his holy feet by his own power, p. 235, 236

The Popes cruel project by the Jesuits to have incenſt the Turk against the Patriarch

The Contents.

*triarch of Constantinople, and thereby
to have destroyed all the Asian Christians
that would not own his Supremacy,*

p. 236, 237

*The saying of Rodulph the Emperor, as to
the danger of Princes, imposing on their
Subjects consciences, p. 237*

*Shutting the mouth of Gods Ministers, hath
usually lifted up the hands of Gods judg-
ments, p. 238*

*The Jesuits bloody work in the West and
East-Indies, ibid.*

*Of all the Countries in the World, England
with its Territories hath been the mark
the Jesuits have levelled their fiery darts
at for 100 years past, p. 239*

S E C T. VI.

*Of the inconsistency of their principles with
the just Power and Rights of Temporal
Princes, p. 140*

*The most Sovereign Prince under the Popes
Jurisdiction, more Slaves than any Con-
quered or Tributary Prince is to the
Great Turk, instances, p. 240*

*No hereditary Title, though of the most an-
cient Royal Dissent, can secure them,
p. 241*

The Contents.

- No legal Election, &c. can do it, p. 242*
No strength of Arms, nor strong Holds can preserve them against their Assassinations, p. 243
No Oaths, Articles of Peace, nor publick Leagues can do it, p. 243, 244
No Sovereign Prince in the World that either is free, or knows how to be so from the Popes Supremacy, if not infatuated, but would choose it, p. 245
Popish Harmonie is only in their Errors Superstitions and Immoralities, ibid.
Popish Slavery not only Corporal but Spiritual; we must believe against reason and sense, or be damn'd Hereticks, p. 246
Christians must either be Rebels at home, or Hereticks at Rome, if the Pope and their Prince fall out, ibid.
We must believe their Blasphemie is Pietie, and their Rebellion Loyaltie, or be perverse Hereticks; instances, p. 246, 247
The bloody Massacres of Paris and Ireland were perpetrated in Gods name, and for Gods Glory and Service, p. 246, 247
Their most horrid Treasons and Rebellions must be esteemed Loyaltie, and for the service of the Prince they rebel against, p. 248 to 252

It

The Contents.

It would be better both for the Papists and Protestants, if moral-loyal Papists would distinguish themselves from Jesuited Papists, p. 252

Unity in Loyaltie on Civil Interests much more easie and safe than in Religious, p. 252, 253

The Scripture as positive against Subjects Rebellion on the account of Religion, as any one Wickedness there condemn'd, p. 254

The Wars betwixt the Protestants of France, Germany, Belgia, &c. against their Princes, was not primarily for Religion, but what, p. 255

The difference betwixt Papists and Protestants in their claims of liberty of Conscience, p. 255

No vengeance of God upon Popish Persecutors will restrain them; instances, p. 256, 257

S E C T. VII.

Jesuitical Principles the cause of Irelands mischiefs and miseries, therefore their interest to explode them above all the Papists in the World, p. 258

A brief Narrative of all the Jesuits Treasons

The Contents.

- Sons against their English Sovereigns, from Hen. 8. to this time, wherein is observed not only the miseries in Ireland, but Englands and Scotlands troubles were promoted by them, p. 259 to 264*
- Their Oath of Confederacy in their last Plot, p. 265*
- The pernicious influence of that Plot, though disappointed, 266, 267*
- His Majesties great tenderness and indulgence towards Dissenters for 20 years past, p. 267, 268*
- Dissenters respect to the Protestant Church of Ireland, as now established, how far, p. 269*
- Dissenters the most dangerous Hereticks in Ireland to Papists, p. 270*
- The great advantage Unity in Loyalty would be both to Papists and Protestants in Ireland, p. 271*

AN

THE HISTORY OF Ireland

An Alphabetical Table of the principle things in the first Part.

A.

Adventurers and other estates Absentees
drain Ireland of Cash, p. 84, 85.

*Apparel extravagant ruines a Country, pag.
20, 21.*

Apparel of Silks destructive to Ireland.

*Apparel spruce and costly in the meaner
sort many ways inconvenient besides its
Charge, p. 27, 28.*

*Apparel spruce and rich contemned by many
wise and potent Princes p. 30, 31.*

Ale-topers their Charge to Ireland, p. 55.

B.

*Baronets when instituted and how to be
qualiffed, p. 16, 17.*

*Bastards their great Charge to Ireland, p.
45, 46.*

C.

*Court of Wards well regulated useful to Ire-
land, and for what, p. 12, 13.*

De-

A Table to

D.

Debaucherries their Charge to Ireland, p. 37.
Drunkenness the grand Wealth-consuming Debauchery, p. 51.

Its Trade-ruining and Wealth-wasting influence, p. 54 to 57.

Drinking to excess is as sinful in them able to bear drink, as others sooner distempered, p. 60.

Drunkards, &c. are the proper Fanaticks, p. 61, 62.

Drunkenness disdained and grievously punished by Turks and Pagans, p. 63.

Drunkenness the ruine of States and Armies, p. 64 to 69.

E.

England no pattern for Ireland in Expences, and why, p. 22.

Effeminacy attends Debauchery, p. 48, 49.

F.

France gains by their fantastick Garbs, and why, p. 19.

G.

Gentry their bad Payment to Tradesmen ruines Trade, p. 10, 11.

Gaming its pernicious Effects, p. 42, 43.

H.

Holiness-Ceremonial crowded Holiness-real out of the Church, p. 70. Honor

the First Part.

Honour when disgrac'd, p. 14, 15
Healthing the great prouoker of Drunken-
ness, p. 58, 59
Its sinful, p. 60

I.

Ireland not settled till when, p. 2, 3, 4
Jesuits their under-ground-work, p. 3

L.

Laws Sumptuary, p. 23, 24
Needful in Ireland, p. 26
Laws Mercanture necessary to govern Trade,
p. 10
Laws Common too delatory for Trade, ibid.
Laws against Absentees, p. 86, 87

M.

Merchants Honourable, p. 8, 9
Merchants, few wealthy in Ireland, and
why, p. 7
Merchants low esteem in Ireland lowers, &c.
Trade, p. 8
Manufacturies ruined by Silk worn in Ire-
land, p. 20
Merchants Forreigners, their damage to
Ireland, p. 81, 82

Nobi-

A Table to

N.

*Nobility when ignoble are the shame and
ruine of a Country, p. 12, 13, 14.*

O.

*Oaths prophane their provoking destructive
nature, p. 38, 39.*

P.

Perjury its sad Effects, p. 41, 42.

*Prophane Swearing the mother of false
sweating, p. 40.*

*Perjury abhorred by Pagans, first tolerated
by Popes, p. 41.*

*Perjury will never be esteemed a mortal
sin, whilst prophane swearing is esteemed
venial, p. 42.*

*Pagans their cruel Laws against Adul-
tery, p. 49, 50.*

Prophaneness of Christendome whence, p. 69.

*Prophanenists their Faith blasphemous and
fanatical, if any they have, p. 74, 75, 76.*

R.

*Rome the Fountain of all Prophaneness and
Debauchery of Christendom, p. 72, 73.*

*Revenue farmed to Foreigners great loss to
the Country, p. 80.*

Swear-

the First Part.

S.

Swearing profane its sad Effects, p. 38, 39.
Superfluities not regulated ruines a Country, p. 18, 19.

Strumpets to be prescribed their Apparel,
p. 29, 30.

Shipping foreign a great Charge to the Country, p. 83.

T.

Trade its Impediments, p. 1, to 11.

Trade Ireland not capable of, till when,
p. 4.

V.

Victuals their Plenty obstructs Trade and Manufacture, p. 5, 6.

W.

Whoring its Charge and Damage to Irelands Trade and Wealth, p. 44.

Destructive to Kingdoms and States, pag.
48, 49.

Wine-bibbers their Charge to Ireland, p. 5.

ERRA

ERRATA.

BY mistake of the Author, and mislaying of some Papers, occasioned by Business which took up his time, & delayed the Publication of this Book, there are some Errors escaped the Press, which is made good by reprinting such Leaves over again, or where any were left out, as between p. 95. and p. 96. the several pages are denoted in the Contents by p. A, and p. B, &c. calling the first p. A, the second B, &c. which the Reader is desired to mark with his Pen. And for Miss-spellings or other Literal escapes I shall leave to his courtesy to correct, and only note what harms the Sense, which the Reader, or rather Bookseller, may soon correct with his Pen.

PART I.

Page 20. for families read females, p. 17. for Coulter r. Collier.

PART II.

Page 29. for confine read consigne, p. 57. for Minister r. Ministry, p. 190. line ult. for Object r. An Answer, p. 234. for 1612. r. 1600. ibid. for 812. r. 800. p. H. for momentary r. momentous, p. 115. for Stillingfleet 106. r. Stillingfleet 206.

Advertisement to the Binder.

At the end of * * in the Epistle Dedicatory there wants the Direction, viz. Plebeius, g g the Quarter sheet in G Part 1. is to be placed after ff in Part 2. E e the first leaf to be cancelled, the last leaf of F f to be cancelled, the last leaf of M m to be the first of E e, N n fol. 195, 196, and 199, 200. to be cancelled; O o fol. 213, 214, 217, 218, 221, 222. to be cancelled; the said leaves of N n and O o being reprinted.

THE



THE
INTEREST
OF
IRELAND
In its
TRADE and WEALTH
Stated.

CHAP. I.

The Reasons why Ireland being so long under the Government of England, whose Policies in Trade are inferior to few Countreys, should yet be so little improv'd in Trade and Wealth.

I. **F**rom the Impediments or Obstructions Ireland hath met with, and is subject unto, not common to other Countreys.

The first and chief Impediment proceeds from the unsettledness of the Countrey, as to its subjection to

The Interest

England's Government; for though they have long profest Allegiance to *England's Crown*, yet they have paid but a grudging partial obedience to its Scepter: And upon all occasions, less, or more general, have been attempting to draw their necks out of *England's Yoke*; as its briefly, but fully evidenced by Sir John Davis in his Intelligent Book dedicated to King James, Intituled *A Discovery of the true cause why Ireland was never intirely subdued to the Crown of England*; and he determines until the 9th. of King James, *Ireland* was never fully settled in subjection and obedience to the *English Law and Government*.

And if we take a view of the State of *Ireland* since then, and allow the Reign of King James, and part of King Charles the First to be Halcion days, compared with former times.

Yet we must consider the former frequent interruptions of its Peace were not so worn out of memory, but that the aged in the succeeding Generations would be discoursing of their former sufferings to their Children and younger Neighbours, which continued a fear and jealousie in the minds of the *English*, who were afresh startled by those lesser breakings forth of discontent in King James's time, &c. who was not Proclaimed King of *Ireland* without opposition. Several of the chief Cities, as *Waterford*, *Corke*, *Lymerick*, &c. stood out until forced to their duty: and within less than seven years *Tyrone*, notwithstanding all obligations of Honour and Favour the King heaped upon him to engage his Loyalty, was kindling a new flame with the sunders

of his old fire ; but being timely by the smoke discovered, and proclaimed Traytor, stole into *Flanders*, and from thence to *Rome* : And for his good services to that See was allowed a plentiful Pention the rest of his life, *Anno 1607.* † And about a year after *Odoghertyes* Rebellion broke out in *Ulster*, who ^{+ Borlacy} _{1641.} Sakt and Burnt *Derry*, and made havock up and down the Countrey, expecting *Tyrone*s and *Tyrconnells* return with foreign Aid from *Flanders*, &c.

About seven years after *Alexander Mac Donnell*, with *Brian Cross*, *O Neal*, and other principle Gentlemen of *Ulster*, were discovered contriving another Plot to take *Charlemont*, with the principal Towns and Forts in *Ulster*, and to destroy the *English* in that Province, having expectation of Assistance from *Spain*, *France* and *Rome*.

Now though all these attempts to disturb the Settlement of *Ireland* were, by Gods Providence, some of them timely discovered and prevented, others soon supprest; yet hereby the Fears of the *English*, as to the safety of their Lives and Estates, were renewed: for they did observe, though the Fire did not flame out of the House-top, yet it lay smothering under the Ashes of the former Rebellions, which was manifest in the Discovery of the horrid bloody Rebellion 1641. that the Popish Minors had been at work under ground all along and the 23. of *October*, 1641. was the day agreed on to spring their Mine: for in the year 1634. *Mac Mahon* a Priest discovered to Sir *George Ratcliffe*, a Design of a general Rising of the *Irish*, himself having been ingaged in the Conspiracy, and for several years employed

The Interest

in Foreign Courts, to sollicite Aid to carry on the
*** Vid. The Work ***.

Reverend Bishop of Meath's Letter to Dr. Borlase in the Preface to his History of the execrable Irish Rebel-

So that though *Ireland* had no open War from the year 1600. to the year 1641. yet these several attempts continued an inward Dread on the minds of the *English*; which discouraged their Industry in Trade and Manufactures, and what they had of Trade were chiefly in the hand of the *Irish* who had little Manufacture but Rugs, Mantles and Frizes, &c.

And from the year 1641. to the year 1660. I may spare troubling you with an account why *Ireland* was not improved in Trade and Wealth; for thirteen years of the nineteen were spent in violent and bloody War, and that monster devours every thing but it self.

And for the other six years the new Landlords of Adventurers and Souldiers had their Heads and their Hands full, in procuring and setling their new Estates.

And not only themselves, but most persons that could command Mony, fell a trading in Debentures, and thereby obtained better Estates in one year, than by treble the sum they ever got in seven years before by Traffick.

So that until the year 1660. *Ireland* not improving in Trade and Manufactures should not discourage Attempts now: for had the Country been much more capable than it is; and, I judge, few Countries in the World better qualified as to its Scituation, and natural Product, yet was there no encouragement for attempting any considerable Trade and Manufactures thus far.

And

And what hath since obstructed the increase of Trade, and frustrated all attempts propagating the Manufactures of *Ireland*. *Vid.* the Chapter of Manufactures.

The second Impediment ariseth from the former, the unsettledness of the minds of the people; for a people inured to War, rather dispose their minds to idleness and rapine, than innocent Industry; and what is quickly so gained, is usually as soon spent in riot and excess: And as these sort of people hate honest labour and industry themselves, so do they by their frequent robberies discourage others; that when a years industry shall be forced out of their hands by an hours robbery, they conclude ease and labour will be all one at the years end; and therefore choose scarcity, with ease and safety, rather than by labour to gain a little matter about them; which will but make them the more fit Prey for the violence of Wood-kearns and Thieves.

The third Impediment is the great plenty of provisions, for fulness of Bread is the cause of abundance of idleness in *Ireland* as well as in *Sodom*; which argument I shall choose to give you in the words of our Ingenious Countreyman Sir *William Temple*, in his Observation on the Trade of *Holland*, pag. 187, 188. as followeth: *Since the ground of Trade cannot be produced from Havens, or native Commodities, as may well be concluded from the Survey of Holland, which has the least and the worst; and of Ireland, which hath the most, and the best of both:*

The Interest

it were not amiss to consider from what other score it may be more naturally and certainly derived; for if we talk of Industry, we are still as much to seek what it is that makes a people industrious in one Country and idle in another: I conceive the true original ground of Trade to be great multitudes of People crowded into small compass of Land, whereby all things necessary to life become dear, and all men who have possessions are induced to Parcimony, but those who have none are forced to Industry and Labour, or else to want: Bodies that are vigorous fall to labour, such as are not supply that defect by some sort of Inventions or Ingenuity: Those customs arise first from necessity, but increase by imitation, and grow in time habitual in a Country; and where they are so, if it is upon the Sea, they naturally break out into Trade, both because whatsoever they want of their own that is necessary, so many mens lives must be supplyed from abroad; and because by the multitude of People, and smalness of a Country, Land grows dear, that the Improvement of Mony that way is considerable, and so turns to Sea, where the greatness of the Profit makes amends for the Venture.

This cannot be better illustrated than by its contrary, which appears no where more than in Ireland, whereby the largeness and plenty of the Soil, and scarcity of the People, all things necessary to Life are so cheap, that an industrious man by two days labour may gain enough to feed him the rest of the week, which I take to be a very plain ground of Laziness attributed to the people; for men naturally prefer Ease before Labour, and will not take pains, if they can live idle; though

though when by necessity they have been used to it, they cannot leave it, being grown a custom necessary to their Health, and to their very Entertainment: nor perhaps is the change harder, from constant Ease to Labour, than from constant Labour to Ease, &c.

The fourth Impediment is the Height of the Interest of Mony; for *Holland* that hath Mony at three per Cent. and *England* at six, eat up Traders in *Ireland*, where Mony is difficult to be procured at ten; whereby the one will undersell the other at his own doors, and run them down in Manufactures at home, and Markets abroad; having also the advantage of better and cheaper Workmen. The dearness of Provisions necessitating their poor to work, the same necessity moves them to inure their Children to Art from their Cradles, whereby they will perform more and better in one day than ours in two.

The fifth Impediment is the lowness of the rate of Land; for when a man may purchase a better Rent for 1000 pound in *Ireland*, than he can for two in *England*, or three in *Holland*, or proportionably Farm. What prudent man will undergo the Difficulties and run the Hazards of Trade, when he may dispose of his Mony with much more ease and safety to his better advantage: and from hence it is we have so few wealthy Merchants in this Country: for if a man begin with a 1000 pound, and improve it to 9 or 10. in Trade, like wary Gamesters that have won at Play, they will venture no more, but lay out their Mony in Land, and of a rich Merchant become a Country Gentleman: and then parting

The Interest

with a few Guineys to procure a Dub, or Patent, the Knights Son will blush if you tell him his Father got his Estate by conversing with Tarpolins, &c.

Which brings me to the sixth Impediment, The low esteem the generous Calling of a Merchant hath in this Countrey, where every pedling Shopkeeper and Pettyfogger is stil'd a Merchant; that *Ireland* breeds Merchants as Beggars do lice, from its poverty and idleness: For turning Merchant is the last shift a lasie Mechanick or a beggerly Citizen takes to; whereas every Trade ought to bear the denomination of their peculiar Faculty. For though Clothiers, Drapers, Mercers, Milliners, Ironmongers, Grocers, Haberdashers, &c. may be of worshipful Rank, and principal Citizens, yet they are not Merchants; for none are properly Merchants but the Adventurers at Sea; from whence the most ancient Corporation of Merchants in *London* was stiled the Company of Merchant Adventurers: But from this degrading of the reputation of Merchants, that Honourable Calling is of so low repute, that few Gentlemen, much less Noblemen, will put their Sons Apprentice to a Merchant, but rather breed them for Divines, Souldiers, Lawyers, Physicians, &c. though it may happen, under those Professions, they never attain to be eminent; that had they put another Son to a Merchant, the Divine might have been glad to become his Brother's Chaplain. Whereas in all Countries flourishing in Trade, their Nobles and chief Citizens are Merchants; as *Venice*, *Florence*, *Genoa*, *Lisbon*, *Amst.* and *Lond.* where his Royal Highness & many of the Nobles about Court are inroil'd

M.r.

Merchants in the *African* and *Canary* Companies, † *Blooms &c.* which his Royal Highness hath Honour'd with *Geography*, bearing Office, † &c. And this is no novelty; for in his *Ch. Solomon*, the most glorious King of *Israel*, was a *Merchant*; it was his *Traffick*, not his *Crown-Rents*, by which he made *Silver to be as Stones in Jerusalem, and Cedars as the Sycamore**.

* *I Kings, Chap. 10.*
ver. 27.

And the Prophet *Isaiah* recording the glory of old *Tyre*, calls her *the Crowning City, and Mart of Nations, whose Merchants were Princes, whose Traffickers are the Honourable of the Earth* †. And this high esteem and noble reputation Merchants hath had both in ancient and modern times in all Countreys, knowing the worth of Trade, hath commended them for *Counsellors* and principal Ministers of State to Princes and chief *Senators* in all Commonwealths, whereby the interest of Trade hath been greatly promoted, and persons of Honour encouraged to study it as a principal piece of State-policy to know how to encrease their own and lessen their neighbours Trade; the advantage thereof we have a notorious example in the modern Politicks of *France*, where it is manifest the Studies and Counsels of one *Colbert* hath in a few years trebled the Trade and Manufactures of *France*; whereby that aspiring Prince is not only become so powerful on Land, but so formidable at Sea above all his Predecessors, that he checks the swelling Trade of *Holland*, and threatens the ruine of the famous Trade of *England*, if not timely prevented; which cannot be done without espousing the Interest of Trade as the Darling of State, and publick Counsels be qualified accordingly.

† *Isa. 23.*
ver. 8.

The

The Interest

The seventh Impediment is the lowness of the Credit of the Tradesmen of this Countrey, proceeding from their ill performances with their Creditors abroad, which they are necessitated unto from these three Causes.

First, from the Delatoriness of Common-Law Proceedings in our ordinary Courts of Justice, where a man may be a year before he obtain Judgment upon a Specialty, and much longer upon a Book-debt, especially if either the Defendant or his Sollicitor be well acquainted with Quirks in Law-proceedings: To prevent which, all Countreys flourishing in Trade keep their Court Merchant, which within a few days, by a Summary way of proceeding by the Law Mercatore, will determine a Cause. *

* Lex
Mercatoria
pag. 458,
&c.

The second Cause of the lowness of their Credit, is the smallness of the Stocks of our Tradesmen: A person of 500l. Stock shall accept of 2000l. Credit, which by reason of Goods lying upon hand, and Debts out, he is no ways able to comply with time; but what he buys at six months, may be three 6 months unpaid, and that intails him upon his Creditor; though his Goods be bad, and dear, he dare not leave him, being at his mercy for old scores.

The third and chief Cause is, from the bad payment some of the Gentry make to the Trader, whereby the Trading Stock of the Nation is stopt in its course, like the Blood stopt in its circulation, threatens the ruine of the Body by variety of Diseases.

For when the Gentleman pays not the Mercer and Draper, he cannot pay the Manufacturer, nor he
his

his Workmen, nor they the Woolman, nor he his Landlords Rent: That could this one obstruction to Trade be removed, most others would fall in course.

And for removing of this Trade ruining Nation, scandalizing evil, I would propose that no Merchant or Retayler should recover in any of the Kings Courts any Debt contracted for foreign Manufactures, but that it should be admitted a sufficient Bar against Judgment, if the Debtor could prove that the Debt were contracted for Goods manufactured out of *Ireland*.

First, This would not only restrain the Seller from trusting where he had confidence of payment, but excuse his refusal where he only credits, being loth to disoblige.

Secondly, This would restrain many Buyers, who whilst they can have time, will be profuse in their expences; but if every superfluous fine thing they fancy cost them ready Money, the thought of parting with their Money would something moderate their fondnes of the thing when they much need it not.

Thirdly, This would prevent mens Wives and Daughters from running them into debt for fine Clothes, if in stead of going to the Tradesman to be trusted, they were constrained to go to him that carries the Purse; for Money, it might admit a debate whether the thing were so necessary as to part with present Money for it.

The second Expedient to remedy this immoral dishonourable ruine of Trade, is for the Magistracy in

The Interest

in their places, and Ministers in theirs, by their testimonies on the Bench; and from the Pulpit to shew the scandal of it, especially in persons of Honour and Quality; it being not only a transgression of all Divine rules in the Christian World, but of all Moral rules in the Civilized World, not to do to others as we would have others do by us. We read of several *Pagan* Nations that are so great abhorvers of this sort of Injustice, that when their Subjects through sloth or prodigality run more into debt than they are able to pay, deliver them to their Creditor for Slaves until the debt be satisfied, as being unworthy to enjoy the freedom of Citizens, much less the dignity of Senators or Magistrates. Saith *Solomon*, *The oppression of the poor is as a sweeping rain.* He means poor Magistrates, who by vertue of their Office hath power to oppress: Therefore it would be an excellent Law, to provide that all Noble Families decayed in Estate, by serving their King and Countrey, or other unavoidable Providence of God, should be repaired by the benevolence of their Countrey, which were usual amongst the *Grecians* and *Romans* in their prosperity.

And that others, who ruine their Estates by prodigality and ill courses, should be degraded from their Dignities; for noble Titles void of noble Estates, and noble Qualities, renders Nobility contemptible, and not only the reproach, but the pest of a Countrey. Therefore such a Court of Wards as might be intrusted with the Education of the Orphant Nobility, &c. so regulated by Law, that no Guardian could make a prey of them and their fortune,

tune, and also impowered where they saw need, to secure the Estates of Prodigals, at Age, from their wasting courses, for the good of their Posterity, would be of great use to this Kingdom, to secure it from Noble and Worshipful Bankrupts, who do not only ruine their own Families and Posterities, but usually many other industrious Families that had the ill hap to credit them.

The third Expedient to secure this Realm from this Trade and Wealth-consuming evil is, for the prudent and sober part of the Nobility and Gentry both by their examples and advice, to discountenance these Prodigals in their ruining courses.

First, by their examples to bring high Gaming, excessive Drinking, and all voluptuous living out of credit; for the reason why so many young Gentlemen are so extravagant in their expences, is, because they think their Quality and Degree requires it.

Whereas true Beauties need no Paint; a Gentleman shall receive the respect of his Degree when clothed in Frieze, as fully as if arrayed in Scarlet. I remember since the Ancient Nobility and Gentry of *England*, though they kept noble Houses, went very plain themselves: what Bravery they had was in their Attendants: And then how glad was a Tradesman to see their Stewards and Liveries coming toward their Shops; whereas now they dread it in some of them: and if they part with their Goods, will require the Steward or some of their mean Tenants

The Interest

nants to be security for their Lord, nay sometimes Citizens ; and then , though the Lord or Master bears the Title, the Servant or Citizen enjoys the honour of persons fit to be credited ; which veils the glory of the Nobility, &c. of Ireland ; who when by the merit of their Ancestors, or by the King's favour they are raised in their degree above others, should raise their minds above those ignoble, vicious principles and practices of meaner persons, or be suspended their Titles till they do it. Shall a Lawyer for dishonouring his Practice, have his Gown pull'd over his Ears, and himself thrown over the Bar ? Or if a Divine scandalize his Cloath, shall he be degraded, and thereby disgraced ? And shall a Nobleman reproach his Dignity, and the fame of his Ancestors without blaine ! Heathens did not think so ; the Athenians had their Goddess Nemesis, being styled by them the Goddess of Indignation, for punishing those who behaved themselves unworthy of their degree and fortune. * The Nobility of a King-
Cofm. fol.
588.

dom are the Pillars of it, and therefore called Peers; and if the Pillars of a House be made of rotten wood, wherein then consists the strength of it ? Wise Solomon, when he built his own House, as well as Gods, had all his Pillars of Cedar, 1 King. 7. 2. or Brass, ver. 15. As the King is the Fountain of Honour, so the Streams should run clear ; they reproach not the Spring-Head from whence they flow.

Why is the Sentence of a Nobleman in Judgment admitted upon his Honour, of equal authority to others upon their Oaths ; but that the Law presumes, he is as tender of his Honour, as others are of

their

their Consciences: and though the Wealth of a Country is disposed by Providence to Fools, and men of rude Education, *Riches*, saith *Solomon*, *are not always to men of Understanding*, there are rich Churles, as *Nabal*, *I Samuel*, 25. 25. and rich Fools, *Luke* 12. 20. and for such as these to be dignified with Honourable Titles, make Honour contemptible, saith wise *Solomon*, *Prov. 29. 1. Honour is not seemly for a Fool; Solomons Fools were not Idiots*, but rude vicious persons: Honourable Titles were not designed to make men Honourable that were not so before, but to declare to others, it was the opinion of their Prince they deserved Honour for the worthy Service they had done for their King and Country: When Titles of Honour are confer'd on persons of mean Birth, mechanick Education, and fordid disposition without respect to Honourable Service, when they are neither Testimonials of the Kings Favour, or the persons Merit, it moves virtuous and worthy persons to flight them, if the most daring Heroick spirit in an Army shall perform, in the fight of his Prince, the most desperate Service, at his coming off he is dub'd; but whilst he was fighting, if the basest Coward in the Army be plundering the Enemies Waggons, forsaken by their Guard, and fill his pockets with Gold, he shall for a small part of it obtain a Patent for a Baronet, and take place of the other, as the more Honourable Man; which lowers the rate of Fortitude the highest vertue, and raiseth the price of Covetousness the most fordid of vices.

Theodosius the Emperor was so sensible of this prostrating

prostrating Dignities to the ambitious humour of unworthy persons, he makes his Edict against it, after this Preamble: *Observing (saith he) many persons out of ambition to take place of others of better merit, had surreptitiously obtain'd Letters or Codicils for Titles of Honour; which caused great animosities, and put all things out of order and decorum, &c.* For, saith he, *how can merit be rewarded, when without consideration of Service performed, Titles of Honour are conferred; and men best deserving deprived of their due?* But to distinguish them, he ordains that persons honoured for Service should take place of others that had superior Titles by Codicil, alias Patents: *And for time to come, all Titles of Honour so obtain'd should be void, and they who procured the Codicils fined 20 l. in Gold**. Saith Baker, Queen Elizabeth made Honour in her time the more Honourable by not making it common; She being a Virgin herself, would preserve the Virginity of Honour, and would not prostitute it to unworthy persons †. To be the Fountain of Honour, is the peculiar privilege of Sovereign Princes; and though they may trust a Subject with the Key of their Treasury, and Cabinet; yet the Key of Honour should always be tied at their own Girdles. King James in the 9th. year of his Reign Instituted the Order of Baronets with these qualifications.

First, that they should maintain 30 Foot Soldiers in Ireland for three years, at 8 d. per diem.

2. That they should be Gentlemen of Blood, of three Descents.

3. That they should have Lands of Inheritance,

* Howels
*History of
the World,*
356.

† Baker's
*History of
England,*
388.

or immediate Reversion, to the value of 1000 l. per annum; and to keep the Order from swarming, he stinted their number to 200. in his three Kingdoms; and as their issue fail'd, so their Order to cease. But, saith Baker, he that will look how well the end of the Institution, and the Laws of it have been observed, shall find it to be here as it was in the Order of St. Michael in France, into which at first there were admitted none but Princes, and eminent Persons; but afterwards it became a question whether the Dignity of the Order did more grace the Persons, or the meanness of the Persons disgrace the Order. So Cambden in his Eliz. records the saying of a French-man, *The Chain of St. Michael was once a Badge of Noblemen, but now a colour for all creatures.* Saith Baker, *When the Laws of an Institution are not observ'd, * Baker's it seems to make a Nullity in the Collation *.* The History, Nobility of Venice are distinguished by their Habits, p. 514. and as Affronts offered them are severely punished; so are their Laws severe against themselves, if they do any thing to dishonour their Quality; saying, *That Honour and Respect will not follow Titles, but Merit and Virtue.*

When Honours Court the Plebeian Race,

It doth Nobility much disgrace;

Unless their Merits be so good,

They equalize the Noble Blood:

I'll say no more on this Point, but do affir. n the

high value of Honourable Titles, and the low esteem of Honourable Qualities. The humour of quick buying, and slow paying, is the ruine of the Trade and Wealth of this Countrey; whilst being Fine, is more creditable than being Just, neither our Credit or Wealth can be recovered.

C H A P. II.

The Second Head of the Causes of Ireland's not Improving in Trade and Wealth,

IS from its excess in spending; for where much is spent, and little gained, poverty and decay necessarily follows: And this consists in its excessive consumption of foreign Commodities. First, for the Belly, as Wines, Fruit, Spice, Tobacco, &c.

Secondly, for the Back, as Silks, fine Linnens, Silver and Gold-Laces: all which may be esteemed superfluous, as not absolutely necessary, only convenient. Now all superfluities ought to be regulated proportionably to abilities; for some Families may better afford to drink Wine than others strong Beer, and clothe themselves in Silks than others can in Serge, in regard they either come cheaper by them, or have Estates more able to bear. And so it is with Countreys; Naples may as cheap wear Silk,

Silk, as *England* Woollen-cloth ; and *Florence*, and most part of *Italy*, are at no further charge for their gay Attire, than their hand-labour upon the raw Silks of *Persia*, &c. which also costs them little, considering they pay for them by their own Manufacture, or in Goods received of other Countreys for them, which is still but the product of their labour ; they consume nothing of the Stock of their Countrey. And it is the same with *France* ; that Countrey would beggar themselves by their curiosity in their Apparel, if they bought what they wear, manufactured : Whereas they gain by their frequent change of Modes, by the great Trade they thereby obtain from other Countreys disposed to imitate them. And so for the Belly ; a Peasant in *France* may drink Wine, as cheap as a Farmer in *England* drinks Beer. So some Countreys on the *Baltick*-Shore may eat *Sturgeon*, as cheap as *Ireland* can *Salmon* ; that it is not the quantity, nor quality of the matter a Countrey consumes, that hurts them, but the price they pay for it. A person that spends forty Pounds *per ann.* in the Manufacture of the Countrey, consumes not so much of its Wealth, as another that spends but ten in foreign Manufacture. For the more full demonstration of the ruining consequence of this excessive consumption of foreign Manufactures, I shall propose to you this one Instance :

Of Silks; wherein the excess is grown to that height, that where our Grandfathers spent one Shilling, we spend above a Pound, and twenty to one is great odds in expences : Then if a good suf-

The Interest

fficient Farmer that paid one hundred Pound a year Rent, or a substantial Yeoman of fifty or sixty Pounds *per ann.* in Land, had worn any other Garment than of Cloth or Stuff, produced by the hands of his own Family, he would have been censured as a profuse Person, and his Wife for a slack Housewife, you will find he will bring his Hogs to a fair Market in a little time, would his Neighbours say. And though Citizens went more Gentile, yet generally grave and plain, according to their several Ranks and Callings: But now persons of this Rank will clothe themselves above the Garb of Knights in former days. Yeomen, or ordinary Tradesmens Wives wear not only Silk-Gowns, but oft-times two or three Silk-Petticoats appear as they walk, one under another, which is an intollerable expence upon the Countrey. For suppose forty thousand Families in this Kingdom that thus wear, and allow them but five Pound *per an.* each person, it amounts to two hundred thousand Pounds a year. And equal, if not more intolerable then this of Garments, is that universal practice of wearing Silk-hoods and Scarfs, which every mean mans Wife and Servants, &c. yea Carniens and Porters Wives put on, which increaseth the number of the former double.

But compute these sorts of Silken Heads and Shoulders worn by these Gammers, to sixty thousand persons; and compute that expence but at twenty Shillings each person a year, it consumes of the Wealth of this Kingdom sixty thousand Pounds *per ann.* Besides, it ruines Felt-making, one of the expen-

expensivest Manufactures of Wooll in the Coun-
try, and consequently one of the profitablist. For
it did not only manufacture a great proportion of
our Woolls, but employed therein a great number
of industrious people. And suppose the same num-
ber of Servants, and mean mens Wives and Daugh-
ters, &c. that now wear Silk-hoods, and Scarfs,
wore Hats, or Sarge-hoods, at five Shillings each,
the Wooll being not valued above half the price:
the profit of the Country by the labour of the peo-
ple that is now lost, would amount unto seven thou-
sand five hundred Pounds *per ann.* So that by this
one consumption of foreign Silk-Manufacture, with
its prevention of consuming of our own, damifies
this Kingdom sixty seven thousand five hundred
Pounds *per ann.*

Obj. If this be so, how comes it *England* and
France, that much exceed *Ireland's* expence in
Garbs, and yet both flourishing Kingdoms in Trade
and Wealth?

Ansiv. First, it is not granted they exceed *Ire-
land*, the quantity and quality of the people consi-
dered; for these Countreys are not only much more
populous, but far more wealthy, and although the
Nobility and Gentry of *France* are expensive, yet
the Peasant, or ordinary People are restrained both
by Law and Custom to wear the most ordinary pro-
duct of their own Countrey. And as I observed
before, the State of *France* gains, rather than loses,
by the Garbs of particular persons: For they sell
more to others than pays for the foreign matter
they manufacture for themselves. But let us com-

The Interest

pare our selves with *England*, the State and Garb whereof being more generally known to us than that of *France*, and we shall find we much exceed *England* in the profuseness of our expences this way, if the quality and quantity of persons be considered. First, *England* must be considered as a Family, after many years gathering by great pains and good husbandry, in possession of a great well-setled Estate; but *Ireland* as a young Beginner, if it have yet begun in the way to get Wealth. And if a Gentleman of a thousand Pounds *per ann.* will keep the Port, and spend at the rate of another of ten thousand Pounds *per ann.* the mischief of the Parity will soon appear, and *England* does not only possess ten times the Wealth of *Ireland*, but drives ten times his Trade, and twenty to one is great odds in expences.

Secondly, if *England* must be *Ireland's* pattern in Garbs and Expences, then review *Englands* Garb and Expences when its state was more suitable to *Ireland*, and you will find it very mean and homely to what *Ireland* is now; and as it increased in Wealth, so in the expensiveness of its Garb and Port: and so soon as the people began to break bounds on that hand, the wisdom of those times saw reason to restrain them by sumptuary Laws; as in the 17th. of *Edward the Third*, the Parliament ordained Rules for the Apparel of all Ranks and Degrees of persons, as followeth.

**Firſt/ The Apparel of the Servants of
Lordſ/ &c. was not to exceed the value of
twentp ſix ſhillings and eight pence/ their
Wives**

Wives and Children suitable/ and to wear no Veils above the value of twelve pence.

Secondly/ Handicrafts and Yeomen / their whole Garment not to exceed the value of 40 shillings/ no Silk nor Silver/ &c. their Wives & Daughters suitable in their Vesture and Apparel/ to wear no Veil of Silk/ but of Yarn made within the Realm/ no Furs/ but Lamb/ Coney/ Cat and Fox.

Thirdly/ All Gentlemen under the state of a Knight/ having not above a Hundred pounds Rent per annum, their Apparel not to exceed three pounds six shillings and eight pence; if Gents of two Hundred Marks per annum and above/ they might wear Cloth to the value of Five Marks/ with Cloth of Silk and Silver/ their Wives and Children any Furs/ but no Ermines/ &c.

Fourthly/ Citizens worth Five Hundred Pounds to the value of Knights of One Hundred Pounds per annum; if worth 1000l. they might wear in the manner of Knights and Gentlemen of Two Hundred Pounds Rent per annum; none of their Servants to exceed the value allowed to the Servants of Lords before mentioned.

Fifthly/ All Knights and Ladies that possess Lands or Gents above the value of Four Hundred Marks per annum, to a thousand/ may wear their pleasure/ except

The Interest

Ermines / and Jewels only on their Heads.

Sixthly/ all Ecclesiastical persons/ according to the custom of their Dignity/ or proportionably to their pearly Revenue/ by the former Rules of Knights and Gentlemen.

Lastly/ all Labourers and other people not worth forty Shillings / are to wear Cloth not above 12 pence per yard. These Rules were strengthened/ with the penalty of forfeiting all things worn contrarie to them ; and by the same Statute/ Clothiers are injunctioned to make their Clothes suitable to the Rates.

These Laws, with some addition and increase of Penalties, were again confirmed by Parliament the third year of *Edward* the Fourth; being near one hundred years after, with power given to the Justices of the Peace to see the Statutes observed annexed to this Preamble. **P**rapeth the Commons Assembled in Parliament/ to our Sovereign Lord the King / to call to his gracious Remembrance, that in the times of his Noble Progenitors/ divers Ordinances and Statutes were made in this Realm of England for the Apparel and Array of the Commons of the said Realm/ as well Men as Women ; so that none of them ought to use or wear any inordinate and excessive Apparel / but according to their Degrees ; which Statutes are not obser-

obserued/ to the great displeasure of God/ and impoverishing this Realm/ &c. And again, in the twenty second year of the said King, in Parliament Regulated and Confirmed, with severe Penalties annexed to this Preamble. Because that our Sovereign Lord the King hath conceived by a Petition made unto him by the Commons/ that divers Statutes and Ordinances touching restraint of excessive Apparel/ &c. by their not due executions/ his said Realm is fallen into great misery and poverty/ and like to fall into moze/ unless there be better Remedy provided/ &c. Again, in the seventh year of Henry the 8th. these Laws were corrected, and inlarged, with more severe Penalties, and all the former Acts repealed; annexed to this Preamble: Forasmuch as the great and costly apparel used within this Realm contrary to the good Statutes thereof made/ hath been the occasion of great impoverishing of the Kings Subjects/ and provok'd divers of them to Rob/ and do Extortion/ and other unlawful deeds to maintain their costly Apparels/ be it therefore Ordained by the Authority of this present Parliament.

It is true, as *England* increased in Trade and Wealth, so the rigour of these Laws slackned; not that it was best they should do so, but indulged as a more tolerable evil, which the Realm was better able to bear; yet to this day the middle sort of people in *England* are much more modest and sparing than

The Interest

than those of the same Rank in *Ireland*.

Now whether it may not be convenient so far to revive Sumptuary Laws, as may give some Restraint to the great Extravagances of this National Consumption, that so threatens the Impoverishing of this Kingdom, is worth the Governments Consideration: And when *Ireland* arrives to the same state of Trade and Wealth of *England*, then these Enormities will be more tolerable; but as the case now stands, the same Reason that governed our Ancestors herein ought to bear sway with us.

But this Extravagancy in Garb is not only thus ruinous and destructive to the Wealth of *Ireland*, but also is accompanied with many other intolerable Inconveniences.

First, The most God-provoking Sin of Pride, for which the most dreadful Judgments of God hath laid waste and ruined Nations, as *Esay 3, &c.* is manifested by this Immoderateness in Garb.

Secondly, This Extravagancy of the meaner sort provokes the Nobility and Gentry to that height of Excess herein, to the weakning of their Estates, that the same Patrimony their Ancestors lived plentifully on, kept noble Houses, did many good Works, and yet increased their Estates, without raking their Tennants, they cannot live on without running greatly into Debt, some of them till Tradesmen will trust them no more; and all to keep themselves distinguished from their Inferiors.

Thirdly, It ingenders Emulation, or rather Disdain,

dain, in the minds of those of higher Degree against the meaner sort; when they observe they cannot put themselves into any Garbe or Mode, but they will be in it, nay outdo the gravest of them. *Fuller* tells us of Sir *John Collthrop*, a *Norfolk Knight* in the Reign of *Henry the 7.* sent to his Taylor at *Norwich* as much Cloth of the Mode-colour as would make him a Garment, which a Shoomaker seeing, employed the Taylor to buy him of the same; which so vexed the Knight, that he caused the Taylor to pink his Garment full of Holes, which cured the Shoomaker of his proud Humour; he vowed never to be of the Gentleman's Fashion again. But let the Knight now change his Fashion once a month, the Shoomaker will vie with him, if all the Shoes in his Shop will pay for it.

Fourthly, It abates and wears off that due Reverence and Respect Inferiours owe to Superiours; for my Gaffer thinks himself as good a man as my Lord, when he observes himself as fine; and where neither of them are known, shall contract as much Observation and Respect.

Fifthly, This unlimited Extravagancy of the meaner sort is the chief cause of our intolerable consumption of Foreign Manufacture: for the Nobility and Gentry are not the twentieth part of the number that consume our Foreign Silks and Modes; and their Consumption would not be felt by the Nation, if the other were restrained, and enjoyned to wear our own Manufacture, it would treble the damage by employing our own poor, and consuming

fuming the Growth of the Country, which would enrich the Tennant, and proportionably raise the Rents and value of Land.

Sixthly, It necessarily raiseth the Wages of all Artists, Labourers, and Servants; for they may better afford to work for two thirds of their wages, and live better of it, if it were not for the excessive increase of the Charge of their Families, by this vanity of living higher and being finer. And this increase of Wages is the greatest Tax on the Nation, though the receiver is made no richer, only sprucer and lazier.

Seventhly, This spruce Garb of both Sexes, especially the Female, is the greatest inticement to those filthy Lusts of the Flesh this age wallows in; as that Debauching Custom of *Healthing* is the great provoker to the swinish sin of Drunkenness, so this sprukeness of Garb and Apparel is the great allurement to those abominable Adulteries, so shamelessly practiced amongst us. For when the Debauches of a place observe mean mens Wives and Daughters adorned above the Ranks and Estates of their Parents or Husbands, they fancy they are designed for Invitations to incourage them to attaque their Chastity, and find themselves not always mistaken. That it would be seasonable to revive that Law or Custom in use amongst the *Hebrews*, that all persons convict, or notoriously famed for Strumpets, should wear one sort of Attire; which custom made *Judah* suspect his Daughter in Law *Thamor*, when he saw her in the Attire of an Harlot, to be one. And in the

year

year 1353. the Parliament of England, on the Petition of the Mayor and City of London, past an Act that no infamous Woman should wear any Hoods, or other Attire upon her Head, but stript Cloth of divers colours*. We have not only abundant testimony in the Old Testament, of these notorious Remarks put upon leud Women in the Jews Common Wealth, but the Heathen themselves by Light of Nature provided against the same evil. The Romans had their Law Oppia, that no Woman of what degree soever might have any Ornaments or Jewels bove half an ounce weight of Gold, nor wear any rich or gorgeous Attire, &c. which Law was made when the Punick Wars were at the height in the Consulship of Fabius, about the time Annaball won the Victory at Canne, and distressed Rome; but about 20 years after, in the time of Portius, Cato, &c. the Roman Dames clamour'd against it. In the defence thereof Cato made a large and vehement Oration, what would they have, saith he, marry this, that they may glister in their Golden Jewels, and shine in their purple Robes, &c. that they may not be stinted in their excessive Expences, in dissolute Profusion, in costly Varieties and Superfluities, &c. Many a time, saith he, ye have heard me complain of the wastful and sumptuous Bravery of Women, and as often have you heard me inveigh against the lavish spending of men, not only private persons but Magistrates also, and how this City of ours is sick of two contrary Diseases, to wit, pinching Avarice, and superfluous Prodigality; two Plagues, I say, that have been the bane and overthrow of all great Monarchs, and flourishing Empires, &c.

*Second Survey
of Lon-
don, p. 553*

The Interest

*† Titus
Livius,
p. 1686.*

&c. To conclude, saith he, my opinion is, that at no hand the Law Oppia be repeal'd, and so I pray all the Gods to vouchsafe a Blessing on you †, &c.

Oh! what miserable Christians are such, that are so far from Modesty or Shame, that they glory in those enormities moral Heathens were ashamed of, that would rather let Common Wealth sink, and Posterity be ruin'd, than abate their Prodigality and Excess.

** Alian.
Ver. l. 13.
P. 24.*

Zalencus the Lawgiver of the Locrians made a Law, * That no Women should wear Gold, or imbrodered Apparel, but when they design thereby to declare to all that beheld them, they proffered themselves to any that would hire them for Harlots; and that the men should not be spruce or effeminate in their Apparel, but when they went to the Stews or Harlots houses, by which all persons were restrained from Excess and costly Apparel.

And so high contempt and disdain hath several of the most Magnificent Emperors, and famous Renowned Princes had of this childish Bravery of gay Clothes, that they have seemed to err on the other hand, that their Glory might arise from the fame of their Heroick Noble Actions, rather than the Splendidness of their Garbs.

Lewis the 11th. King of France, who (as Commin, one of his Council, who wrote the History of his Reign, affirms) was of so bountiful and generous a Humour, that none equalled him; yet in his Apparel and Garb so homely and frugal, that there was found in his Chamber of Accounts in Paris, in the year 1461. an Article of two Shillings for Fustian to sleeve the Kings old Doublet, &c.

The

The Puissant Emperour Charles the Fifth, * when
the Citizens of Milan had drest themselves in their
Ornaments, and adorned their Streets, and beauti-
fied their Houses in the most splendid manner, to en-
tertain so Victorious and Mighty a Prince ; provided
a Golden Canopy to be born over his Head, expecting
his Appearance in great Splendor : But when they
saw him enter in a plain black Cloth-Suit, &c. they
would not believe their eyes, but cried out, Which is
he ? Which is he ? and then slunk away laughing at
each other for being so disappointed in their expecta-
tions.

The Great Emperour Augustus would wear no
other Apparel than what was spun and made by his
own Wife, and Daughters *. Drexas,
P. 424.

The Emperour Rodulphus did not at all differ
from a private person in his Apparel ; that when the
King of Bohemia came in a splendid Garb and Port
to do him Homage, his Nobles prest him to put on his
Imperial Robes, &c. No, quoth he, the King of Bo- + Lipse
hemia hath often laughed at my Grey Coat, and now Monit.
my Grey shall laugh at him †. P. 357.

Plutarch relates of Marcus Cato the Elder, he
never put on a Garment that cost him more than a
hundred pence ; and then he used to say, Nothing that
is superfluous can be cheap ; and for his part, he
esteemed that dear of a half-peny, of which he had
no need.

Severus when he came to be Emperor, sold the
Jewels and Ornaments he found in the Palace, say-
ing they were of no use to men, and did wear very or-
dinary and plain Apparel, saying, the Glory of the
Empire

* Clarkes
Mirrour,
p. 233.

Empire consisted in Virtue, not in Bravery.

It was an expression suitable to a noble mind of Sir Thomas Rookesby, when Lord Justice of Ireland, being controlled for suffering himself to be served in Wooden Cups, replyed, *These homely Cups and Dishes pay freely for that they contain : I had rather*
 *Campion drink out of Wood, and pay Gold and Silver, than
 (91.) drink out of Gold, and make wooden payment*. His
 humour differed from a modern person, of no mean
 Character, who swore it did not become a Gentle-
 man to pay his Debts : To whom I may reply, He
 that can, and will not pay his Debts, is more a
 Knavish than a Gentleman.

I do not cite these Examples; as if I esteemed rich and sumptuous Apparel unseemly for Princes and Nobles, both Morality and Divinity allows, especially in Solemnities ; but to shew how far the most heroick noble minds have flited, and raised their spirits above it. And doubtless the more, least their examples should provoke their Subjects to excess, who are more apt to imitate their Princes vices than their virtues. And doubtless it is the interest of Princes to restrain their Subjects from such enormities as effeminate their spirits, and unsuits them for warlike hardships and actions, or whereby they consume and weaken their Estates, which disables them from contributing those aids the safety of his Realms may require.

I could deimonstrate, if his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom would but contribute what they vainly consume in rioting and excess, it would amount to more than all the establisht Revenue ; but were the

the third part of their voluntary unnecessary Consumption taxed on them by their Prince, they would groan under it, as an unsupportable burthen, so highly do they esteem their Lusts above their Loyalty.

And least my Notion for regulating Apparel by Law should seem a novelty, I commend to the Reader Mr. Fuller, an Author universally applauded, who in his *Pisgah Sight* spends 14 folio's on the Subject of describing the Attire of the *Hebrews* and *Romans* for every Rank and Degree, saith he, *Fuller fol.*
They were no Fashion-mongers, English like, but 99.
*according to the commendable Gravity of the Germans, kept the same Fashion from Generation to Generation; and therefore we meet not with the Trade of a Taylor, though Weavers and Fullers, in Scripture or antient History; for every one knew how to make their own Clothes: Heliogabalus was the first that wore Silk in Roime, and Cardinal Woolsey was the first Clergy-man that wore Silk in England; but were the Cardinal now alive, there are many Parish-Parsons would vie with fol. 106.
with his Eminency who should be finest. Saith Heilin, The Women of England were once famous for their Gravity and Modesty in their Apparel amongst strangers abroad, but since they have been so apishly addicted to imitate the fantastical Garb of the French, they have lost their Repute.*

Luther's Censure of Pride and Bravery was,
The trading into those foreign parts (from whence
are brought hither costly Silks, Cloth of Gold, and
Spices, which serve only for Pride and no Profit,

The Interest

and exhausteth the Mony and Wealth of Country and People) ought not to be permitted, if we had good Government; but I intend not now to write thereof: for I hold, that at last it will fall of it self, when we have no more Mony. Luther Colloqu. fol. 541.

And so much veneration had the antient Romans to Virtue, that the Noble Women threw away their golden Girdles, the Emblems of their Qualities, because Women of ill Fame were permitted to wear them; saying, *A good Name was better than a golden Girdle*: if our vertuous Ladies would manifest the like contempt and disdain of the vicious, by refusing all Visits and Familiarity with them, it might shame more of our wanton Maidams out of their immodest Behaviour, than our Whipping-post doth our Gainier Strumpets, who ought by the Law to be equally their Entertainment. But that I may vindicate my Assertions herein from precise singularity as well as novelty, I shall close my Discourse on this Subject with the words of that famous Light of the English Church Learned Doctor Hall the pious Bishop of Exon. saith he; *From the pampered Belly we pass to the proud Back of the World, whereon he is blind that sees not a world of Fashions, in all which the price of the Stuff strives with the vanity of the Form, there is a Luxury in the very Clothes, which it is hard to look besides; Oh God! how is the world changed with us since our Britches of Fig-leaves and Coats of Skin, the Earth yields Gold, Silver, rich Stones, the Sea Pearls, the Air Feathers,*

*Contem-
plations.*

383.

thers, the Field his Stalks, the Sheep her Fleece, the Worm her Web; and all too little for one Back, after Necessity, Clothes were once for Distinction, as of Sexes so of Degrees, how curious was God in those Differences, the violation whereof was no less than deadly, Deut. 22. 5. what shall we say to the Dames, yea to the Hermaphrodites of our time, whom it troubles that they may not be all man; but if Sexes be unknown by Clothes, what is become of Degrees? every base Terriavagus wears Artaxerxes his Coat: soft Raiments are for Courts, but Peasants degenerate to Gallants, and every Midianitish Camel must shine with Gold, Judg. 8. 26. but Oh the mad Disguises of the world! especially in that weaker Sex, which in too much variety is constant still to a prodigious deformity of Attire, to the shame of other Nations, to the dishonour of their Husbands, to the shame of the Gospel, to the forfeit of their Modesty, to the misshaping of their Bodies, to the prostitution of their Souls, to the just Damnation of both. Away with this absurd and apish Vanity of the world, they that glister in Scarlet shall once embrace Dunghills, Lam. 4. 5. yea it were well if no worse, let us that are Christians affect that true Bravery which may become the blessed Spouse of Christ, The Kings Daughter is all glorious within, Psal. 45. 13. thus fashion not your Backs to the Disguise of the world. Thus that pious Bishop, who yet lived not to see half the Vanity now in mode. Saith Herbert.

*By no means run in debt, take thine own measure,
Who cannot live on twenty pound a year
Cannot on forty; he's a man of pleasure,
A kind of thing that's for it self too dear,
The curious unthrift makes his Clothes too wide,
And spare himself, but would his Taylor chide.*

*Spend not on Hopes, they that by pleading Clothes
Do Fortunes seek; when Worth and Service fail,
Would have their Tale believed for their Oaths,
And are like empty Vessels under sail;
Old Courtiers know this: therefore set out so
As all the day thou mayst hold out to go.*

*In Clothes cheap Handsomness doth bear the bell,
Wisdom's a trimmer thing than Shop e're gave;
Say not then, this with that Lace will do well,
But this with my discretion will be brave:
Much curiosity is a perpetual wooing,
Nothing with labour, folly long a doing.*

C H A P. III.

Of Chargeable Wealth-consuming and Trade-obstructing Debaucheries.

THO this Head may be censured, as a Digression from a Discourse of Trade, &c. especially by such whose fondness of these Wealth-wasting Lusts incites them to sacrifice all real Interest to their Sensuality.

Yet it will be obvious to all sober and considerate persons, that the destructive Influence of these evils do not only hazard the eternal safety of immortal Souls, but also are superlatively destructive to the Trade and Wealth of this Nation, both by regarding the Increase, and consuming its Stock, which I shall endeavour to demonstrate in these four particulars.

1. Prophane Swearing and Cursing.
 2. Gaming.
 3. Adultery and Fornication.
 4. And chiefly, Drunkennes and Tipling, which is the Mother of all the rest of this cursed Brood.
1. Prophane Cursing and Swearing, a wickedness, through custom, grown into that Credit, it disdains Reproofs; nay, some persons seem to va-

The Interest

lue themselves by their Wit to invent and Courage to utter the most horrid Oaths, at which moral Heathens would tremble, who retain so great a veneration to their Gods, especially their chief Gods, as *Jupiter, &c.* they will not mention their Names without great Reverence, and will only swear by their Attributes, as by the Great, the Wise, the Just, &c. whereas our Prophanenists so glories in this shame, they will oft belch out their filthy Vomit in the face of Magistrates, who when they reprove them, and demand one Shilling for one Oath, have contemptuously both to God and the Kings Laws thrown down their Guinny, and immediately swore it cut, like those prophanes desperate ones the Psalmist complains of *Psal. 12. 4. Who have said, with our Tongue will we prevail: our Lips are our own: who is Lord over us?*

Now though this is the most unpleasant and unprofitable Vice in this world, yet it is most frequent; for 100 s. of Oaths are uttered at the committal of any one of the other Debaucheries, and so universal, that from the man stooping with age to the lisping Infant before it speak plain, shall you hear Oaths and Curses, to the reproach of their Parents that no better instruct them, so that this is a long liv'd Weed, that buds early in the Spring, and continues green in the depth of Winter; the Food of other Lusts may be devoured by Poverty, Age and bodily Infirmitie; of the later we have had dreadful Examples of some, who could plainly express horrid Oaths, and not one other word

word to be understood, and others so hardened through the custom of this sin, that on their Death-beds, when they could not utter a word of sense, they have breathed out their last breath with dreadful Oaths and Curses, which I have received from the testimony of credible persons then present.

Object. But wherein doth Swearing &c. obstruct Trade and waste Wealth? &c.

Ans^w. As it banisheth our Blessings, and heaps Curses upon our Labours, *for because of Oaths the Land mourns, and the Beasts of the field languish,* Jer. 23. 10.

And why because of Oaths? Why, because *a fruitful Land God maketh barren, for the iniquity that dwell therein,* Psal. 107. 34. that if Plagues & Famines, Murrains on Cattel, Blastings of Corn, &c. obstruct Trade and waste Wealth, profane Swearing is not innocent: But if these profane desperate Swearers, who dare challenge God to confound and damn them, &c. will heed little the Threatning of Gods Word; let them consider the Voice of natural Conscience in Heathens, who have been great abhorvers of this sin, whereof you may read several Instances, as also several lamentable Examples of Gods swift and dreadful Judgments on common Swearers in *Clerks Mirrors*, fol. 658. *Beadles Diary*, pag. 24. *Beards Theater*, &c.

The World, saith a Reverend Prelate, cares not how it rends and tears the sacred Name of their Maker by Oaths and Curses, and Blasphemies. Oh

The Interest

hate ye the audacious Prophaness, yea this prophane Devilism, and tremble at the dreadful Majesty of the Name of the Lord our God. Dr. Hall Bishop of Exon. Contemplations 383.

Herbert *Take not his Name who made thy Mouth in vain,
It gets thee nothing and bath no excuse ;
Lust and Wine plead a Pleasure, Avarice Gain :
But the cheap Swearer, through his open fluce,
Lets his Soul run for nought, as little fearing.
Were I an Epicure I could bate Swearing.
Fair spoken Mendax on the least occasion
Swears by his Faith and by his own Salvation ;
Is rash-brain Mendax well advised then,
To pawn his Faith in God, for Faith with men ?
Sure small's thy Wit, or Credit, to be drawn
For wares so poor to leaye so great a pawn.*

But this Iniquity of prophane Swearing is the preparitory cause of false Swearing, which is an immediate obstruction to Trade and Wealth.

1. It discourageth all, but especially Foreigners, to trade amongst us; who will hazard their stocks or persons in a Country, or amongst a people, where a false Oath may deprive them of their Estates or Lives, &c. dissolve the best Bargain, and frustrate the hopefulllest prospect of Gain unforeseen, unreinediable ?

2. It creates a Jealousie amongst the Tarfiquers and betwixt Neighbour and Neighbour, that notwithstanding their greatest care in Contracts of all sorts,

sorts a false Oath shall deprive them of their Interest of all they possells.

3. Perjury increaseth the number of idle loose people, who find it easier to get their living by the sweat of their Consciences than the sweat of their Brows; how greatly hath this Vice been abhorred by Pagans, the *Egyptians* and *Scythians* punished it with Death, *Plutarch, &c.*

And how dreadfully punished by God, *vide Clerks Mirror* fol. 423. to 432. We read of none but *Rome Papal* that could dispence with Perjury, as *Eugenius* with *Albert* the Emperor and *Vladislaus* King of *Hungary* to break Faith with the *Turks*; so *Redulph* Duke of *Swavia* to break his Faith with the Emperor *Henry* the 4th. but of later times nothing more frequent with the Pope, &c. than to absolve whole Kingdoms from their Oaths of Allegiance, &c. to their Princes, and then hath owned their Perjury as meritorious, *vid. History of the Council of Trent*; whereby this unhappy Kingdom is in a desperate case; who are in the midst of a potent people that know they may not only innocently but meritoriously break their Faith with all Hereticks, as they esteem all Protestants.

Now this is observable, that Perjuries are nowhere frequent where prophane Oaths are not common; for when the latter, through custom, hath stupified the Conscience, that the prophaning and blaspheming the sacred Name of God becomes a pass-time, it wears off that natural awe and dread of God, by familiarising the Name of God

The Interest

God vainly makes it easie to invoke his Name falsely ; the Solemnity of a Court will not deter them from Perjury to their Neighbours harm, when the dread of Gods great Tribunal will not aw them from wronging their own Souls.

Therefore whilst prophanie Swearing passeth for a venial (Perjury will never be esteemed a mortal) sin, and until the Laws be more strictly executed against the first, the second will not be reformed.

And I estimate the damage this Nation sustains by this impious Vice to amount at least to 20000*l.* *per annum*, sustained by particular persons, and the general discouragement it puts upon Traffique and Commerce.

The second Wealth consuming Debauchery is Gaming.

First high Gaming among the Gentry, though whilst the Inhabitants of Ireland lose to each other it weakens, not only transfers the Wealth of the Country from one to another, but when with Foreigners that transport their Winnings, it is so much loss to the Commonwealth, and I hear of few that grow rich by Play , as our Proverb is, *What is got over the Devils Back is consumed on his Belly* ; and many, and those of no mean Rank, are known to others as well as my self, to be reduc'd to great straits by Gaming, which several prudent Princes, &c. Observing, have strictly prohibited.

prohibited. *Alphonsus Son to Fedinando King of Spain* made a Decree, that none of his Nobles nor Officers should presume to play for Mony at Cards or Dice, or suffer any such Gaining in their Houses on pain of forfeiting one Months Salary and being expulsed the Court for six weeks. *Chilon* being sent from *Lacedemonia* to *Corinth*, to treat of a League, and observing their Rulers used Dice-play, returned without opening his Commission, saying, *He would not stain the Glory of the Spartans with so great an Ignominy, as to joyn in Society with Dice-players.*

But I shall close what I have to say to this sort of Gamesters with *Herbert*.

*Game is a civil Gunpowder in peace,
Blowing up Houses with their whole Increase.*

But this Vice bears hardest on the Commonwealth by the consumption of Time and Mony by our peasanly and mechanick Gamesters, who spend much of their time in Winter at Cards and Dice, and Shovel-board, &c. and in Summer in petty Bowling-Alleys and Nine-pins, &c. which are the common Recreations of multitudes, not only of Journeymen and Apprentices, but the meaner sort of Masters of most Handycrafts; we will compute this sort of Gamestersto 10000 persons who, besides the ruining of their poor families, and thereby filling the Country with Beggars, consume at least one day in a week in this sort of Recreation, which compute at 12 pence a week

The Interest

week one with another for loss of Time, ther^e being more above than under that rate, and 12 pence spent in Mony obstructs of the Wealth of this Kingdom 52000 l. per annum, which the Vigilancy of our Justices, and Watchfulness of our Constables might prevent, by executing the good Laws of the Land against them.

The third sort of Wealth-wasting Debaucharies is Whoring.

WHICH amongst the Wealthy, if they can stifle the mutterings of Conscience, as to slight these dreadful threatenings on the Committers of this sin, *I will be a swift Witness, saith God, against the Adulterers, &c.* Malach. 3. 5. so the Apostle, *Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge,* Hebr. 13. 4. so *Be not deceived, neither Fornicators, nor Adulterers, nor Effeminate, &c. shall inherit the Kingdom of God.* I say, if these and multitudes of the like Texts be esteemed Apochrypha by these sort of Transgessors, then let them assemble themselves by Troops in Harlots houses, and as fed Horses every one neigh after his Neighbours Wife, but withal consider the next words, *shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord, shall not my Soul be avenged on such a Nation as this is,* Jerem. 5. 7, 8, 9.

But if the Wealthy of them would confine themselves to our Country-Strumpets, and pay well where they debauch, and maintain their Bastard-

stard-brood without Charge to the Parishes, the Wealth of the Country would not so much suffer : But so far are they from that, there are some particular Parishes in this City that have forty, some fifty desolate Children upon their Charge, which might be much remedied by the Vigilancy of the Magistrates in executing the Statutes against Idlers, on young Women living out of Service, and becoming Tapsters to paltry Ale-houses, or otherwise taking a Room in some by-corner, and gaining Credit for a Barrel or two of Beer, they there drive this filthy Trade, of which sort our Towns and Cities swarm, by the neglect of the Parish-Officers, who ought to inquire after all Inmates and vagrant persons residing in their Parish, and either present them, or carry them before a Justice.

But compute the number of those base born Infants with others left upon the Parish by their Parents, ruined by this Sin, but 5000. which is two on each Parish, and allowing, as some compute, 2500 Parishes, their Charge at *3 l. per annum* each, amounts to in the whole Kingdom *15000 l. per annum*.

2. Besides the Charge of these base born Children of vagrant Strumpets that thus run from them, multitudes of Families that might otherwise live well, and bear Charge in their Parishes, are reduc'd to great poverty, sometimes by the means of a Whorish Wife who consumes her Husband's Wealth upon her Paramour, and oftentimes rob him of all they can get and run away with other

The Interest

othe men, &c. of which we have frequent Complaints ; but more common of lewd men, who, besides their loss of time, spend all they can get on Strumpets, whilst their poor Families are ready to perish, whereby our Idlers and Beggars are multiplied, to this Nations damage at least *10000 l. per annum.*

For the more wealthy sort of Fornicators and Adulterers, provided they pay well where they debauch, only obstruct our Trade, and waste the Wealth of the Country by accident.

1. By their Example, if the Captain keep his Madam Miss, the Corporal concludes he may keep his Gammer ; if Mr. Justice be famed for a Wencher, Gaffer Constable will not believe it is against the Statute ; if the Parson seems to scruple nothing but being discovered, his Parishioners will conclude it is not inconsistent with the Gospel ; saith God, *The Leaders of my people cause them to err, and destroy the way of my paths.*

2. As their Example, so their Influence much debaucheth a Country, besides those Women of better Rank, who entertain them for their pleasure, and permit other men to beget Heirs for their Husbands Estates, many of meaner estate admit them for their Credit and Profit ; some will be proud of having persons of superiour Rank to be their Servants, and conclude themselves Paragons of Beauty from their Courtship, when all is Fish that comes to the Net with them ; it being notorious, that persons under the dominion of this impetuous Lust decline lovely modest Women that

are

of IRELAND.

47

are their own Wives, and pursue other deformed and ugly Creatures comparatively, because nothing lawful is pleasant to them, only what is sinful.

3. Others for their Profit, if their Husbands Frugality or Poverty restrains from supplying them with such Fare or Attire as their Luxury and Pride craves, the Bounty of a Gallant wins them to prostrate themselves to their Lusts for a delicious Treat or a fine Garment; and when once they have debauch'd them, they are at their command, and at any mans else that will supply them with the like Gratuities; and sometimes these sort of Harlots grow crafty, and will inveagle and make their Prey of their Paramours, and not always without their Husbands secret consent, at least their visible connivance, whereby some poor Wittals have become rich Cuckolds, from whence is the Proverb, *Cuckolds Luck is good Luck.*

But notwithstanding all this seems but to transfer Wealth from one hand to another, yet it is a mistake; where there is one man mended in his Estate by a whorish Wife twenty are wasted; for they having accustomed themselves to voluptuousness with their Paramours abroad, know not how to conform themselves to their more ordinary viands with their Husbands at home, but will be maintained above their estate; and so as *Solomon saith, by the means of a whorish Woman a man is brought to a morsel of bread,* to the damage of this Nation in its Wealth at least *5000 l. per annum.*

But there are another sort of a superior Rank cannot content themselves with our own Country-women,

woman, but either bring over their Misses from beyond Seas, or otherwise catch up such as come hither to seek for Trading; and tho' the numbers of these are not great, yet their Expences are as superior to others as their Quality, some 2, some 300*l. per annum*, I have been informed some have been allowed 400*l. per annum*, maintaining their Misses in a more costly Garb than their Wives; and when these Hackneys find themselves neglected they return with their Gains; and tho' there be more than a good sort of these, yet I shall estimate the Consumptions of the Nations Wealth but to 2000*l. per annum*; so that by this one brutish Debauchery, in its several Branches, is the Wealth of Ireland consumed to the value of 37000 pounds *per annum*.

Besides, this brutish Vice effeminate and debaseth the masculine Spirit of a Nation, and metamorphoseth the courageous Lion into the effeminity of the lascivious Goat, which have ended in the ruine of several warlike Kingdoms and victorious Armies. *Sardanapalus* put a period to that *Affyrian* Monarchy after 1400 years flourishing, being so degenerated from the warlike Spirit of his Ancestors, his Subjects disdained so many gallant Sons of Mars should be conducted by such a pusillanimous vassal to *Venus*, they besieged him in his Palace at *Nineveh*, and reduc'd him to that extremity, he set fire of his House and burnt himself in the midst of his Minions, with a vast Treasury, estimated by some to 25000 millions of pounds, *Herberts Travels* 235.

Thus

Thus did *Paris* ruine *Troy*, and the *Tarquins Rome*, *Alexander* the Great his World-conquering Army, and split his universal Monarchy into shivers after the taking of *Babylon*.

So *Mahomet* the Great after the sacking *Constantinople*, became so effeminate, that his Army were ready to mutiny, to whose fury he sacrificed his beautiful *Irene*, *Turkish History* 353.

And the like Effeminacy of the *Greeks* so softened their Spirits, the warlike temperate *Turk* ran them down with little difficulty ; so great a sense hath several warlike *Pagan* Nations had of the ruining influence of this effeminating Vice, that their Laws have been rather barbarous than severe against it, tormenting them by punishments beyond all modesty to repeat, but the civilized *Romans* went so far as to fasten their naked bodies together and so bury them quick.

The Judicial Law stoned Adulterers to death or burnt them.

Solon made it lawful for the *Athenians* to kill an Adulterer taken in the fact.

The *Egyptians* punish Adultery in the man by giving a hundred strokes with a Reed, and a Woman by cutting off her Nose, if with a Woman of Quality the man was gelt or disinembred.

Zalucus ordained a Law amongst the *Locrians*, Adulterers should lose their eyes, after which his own Son being taken in the fact, rather than lessen the Punishment, lost one of own eyes to save one of his Sons.

Augustus made the Law *Julia*, by which it were law-

The Interest

lawful for the person dishonour'd to kill the Adulterer. One of *Fabius Falutius's* younger Sons killed his Mother for dishonouring his Fathers Bed, which was approved of by the Senate.

Tiberius crucified the Priests of *Ises*, and cast their Tempe to the ground for their Adulteries.
Purch. Pilgrimage 732.

The Emperor *Claudius* and *Otho* put their Empresses to death for Adulteries, *Langchron.*

The *Romans* had their Funerals at the Gate of *Venus* Temple, to signifie that Lust was the Harbinger and hastner of Death, *Plut.*

Multitudes of instances may you read in *Clarks Mirror*, fol. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

So French Academy chap. 22.

Herbert. Think you on this, who spend your days and strength,
And means on Whores, Dogs, Parasites, at length
They'l worry you before you feel their wounds,

Look to their Teeth, shun these Acteons bounds.

I shall close this Head with the Advice of wise *Solomon*, after his dear bought Experience, *Prov. 7.* Let not thine Heart decline to ber ways; go not astray in her paths: For she hath cast down many wounded, yea many strong men have been slain by her. Her House is the way to Hell, going down to the Chambers of death. So Proverbs the 22. She is a deep pit, he that is abhorred of God shall fall therein: a wound and dishonour shall he get, and his reproach shall not be wiped away.



C H A P. IV.

Of Drunkenness.

*The most Wealth-consuming Debauchery is
Drunkenness.*

TO whom we may ascribe, as the Damsels to David comparatively, its ten thousands, to other Debaucherers their thousands ; other Vices, like petty thieves, steal here a Hen & there a Sheep, but this lays Families and Farms waste, this is the Mother and Nurse of all other Wealth-consuming Debaucheries.

We have a Story of a young man that was long tempted by the Devil to commit one of three sins ; either to kill his Father, ravish his Mother, or be Drunk, he chose the last as most innocent ; but when drunk committed both the other. Saith sober Herbert.

*He that is drunken may his Mother kill
Big with his Sister, he hath loos'd the reins,
Is outlaw'd by himself ; all kind of ill
Did with his Liquor slide into his veins ;*

The Interest

*The Drunkard forfeits Man, and doth divest
All worldly right, save what he hath by Beast.*

Lest the Spirit of Wine should reveal to its zealous votaries, that my Arguments against this *Al a mode* Vice are tinctur'd with Fanaticism, I shall presume to make use of the Sentence of a pious Prelate on the Subject, to conduct me, whose Fame in the Church of *England* will desie their Censure.

Who thus complains of this tribe of *Bacchus*, who were but piginies in his time, compared with the bousing mighty Gyants of this age.

From the Tongue, saith he, we pass to the Pallate, which (together with the gulf whereto it serves, the Throat and the Paunch) is taken up with the beastly fashions of Gluttony and excess, whether wet or dry, of meats or liquors; Surfeits in the one, Drunkenness in the other, in so much as that the Vice hath taken the Name of the Part, Gula; as if this piece were of no other service; the Psalmist describes some wicked ones in his time by Sepulchrum patent gutttereorum, their throat is an open sepulchre, Psal. 5. 9 How many have buried all their Grace in this tomb, how many their Reputation, how many their Wit, how many their Humanity? how many their Houses, Lands, Livings, Wives, Children, Posterity, Health, Life, Body and Soul? St. Paul tells his Philippians, that their false Teachers made their Belly their God; O God, what a Deity is here! what a nasty Idol! and yet how adored every where! the Kitchens and Taverns are his Temples,

Temples, the Tables his Altars! what fat Sacrifices are here, of all the Beasts, Fowls, Fishes, of all the Elements; what pouring out, yea what pouring in of Drink-offerings! what Incense of Indian Smoak, what curiously perfumed Cates wherewith the Nose is first feasted, then the Maw.

I could even sink down with shame to see Christianity every where so discountenanced with beastly Epicurism; what Street shall a man walk in, and not meet with a Drunkard? what Road shall he pass, and not meet some or other hanging upon the Stirrup, waving over the Pummel? St. Peters Argument from the third hour of the Day, and St. Pauls from the Night would be now a non sequitur; Day is Night, Night is Day, no hour is privileged: I cannot speak a more fearful word than that of St. Paul, whose Belly is their God, whose End is Damnation. Oh, woful, woful condition of that damned Glutton in the Gospel! Oh the Flames of that delicious Tongue which begged for a drop, but should in vain have been quenched with Rivers, with Oceans, as ye desire, to be freed from those everlasting burnings: Awake ye Drunkards, Dr. Hall and howl ye drinkers of Wine, Joel 1. 5. Return Bishop of Exeter in your superfluous Liquor into tears of Repentance, his Con- which only can quench that fire, and for the sequel templati- put your knife to your throats. ons on the

Take heed lest at any time your hearts be over- History of taken with Surfeiting and Drunkenness, Luke 21. the New 34. Thus fashion not yourselves to the excels of fol. 382. Testament. the world.

Every Country, saith Luther, must have its own proper Devil; Italy hath its Devil, France its, &c., our German Devil is a good lusty Wine-sucker, whose Name is Swill and Quaff, he is furnished with such a dry and thirsty Liver that it cannot be quenched nor cooled. This continual Thirst in Germany (I fear) will remain until the last day of Judgment, Luthers Colloq. fol. 541.

Besides the vehement abhorrency all the Prophets and Apostles, with all their godly Successors in the Ministry of the Gospel, expresseth against this brutish Vice.

It is worth our observing how all the Mahometan and civilized Pagan Nations disdain and punish it, as invading the very Law of Humanity.

But I shall first observe how many ways it obstructs our Trade, and consumes our Wealth.

To let pass its stupifying Influence on mens Understandings, whereby their Invention is dull'd, their Strength abated, and a slothful sottish habit of Mind and Body contracted, which unfits men for ingenious Arts, &c.

1. It consumes of the Wealth of this Nation in Wines and Brandy, if we allow but three Wine-bibbers to each Parish, one with another, at ten pound *per annum* each person, in 2500 Parishes, amounts to Seventy five thousand pound *per annum*; which is either paid for in Cash, or in Goods of our Country, as good as Money.

2. Our Ale-topers, being estimated to five in each Parish, one with another, amount to 12500 persons; (our afternoon Wine-bibbers being most

of them forenoon Ale-topers) computing their excess in this Liquor to four pound *per annum* each man, it amounts to fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, consumed of the Growth of the Country, which might either be exported in Beer or Corn, or the Lands and the Hands employed in breeding Cattel or in Daries, to the Countreys advantage.

3. The multitude of people employed and maintained as Tapsters and Drawers, &c. by this Trade that might be employed in profitable Arts, or Husbandry, if we compute them to each Parish two more than is necessary, and value their Labour at eight pound *per ann.* each person, its Los to the Country is four thousand pound *per annum*, which might be as well performed by young lads under sixteen or antient men above fifty years of age.

4. This second sort of Fuddle-caps, we term Ale-topers, are generally Artists or Husbandmen, by whose Labour their Families are not only supported, but the Country enriched, and consequently damnified by the los of their Time, admit two pounds *per annum*, one with another, amounts to twenty five thousand pounds *per annum* los, to the Country.

I might insist upon the Damage attending our Manufactures by these sorts; A drunken Butcher spoils his Beef by ill slaughtering, either killing them hot after driving, or not well bleeding, &c. whereby the Flesh will not take Salt, or gashing the Hide to the prejudice of the Leather; a drunken Packer shall

The Interest

shall spoil it in barrelling, by not well cleansing, and right ordering; a drunken Tanner, &c. shall spoil the Leather; a drunken Weaver shall spoil the Cloth, &c. whereby our native Growth is damaged, and loseth its Repute in foreign Markets, to the damage of this Country a fourth part in the value of its natural Product, amounting, at least, to twenty thousand pounds *per annum*.

Besides, drunken Masters do not only ruin their Families, but debauch their Servants and Apprentices, that one fulding Master shall in twenty years time breed six or seven drunken Sots, which fills the Country with Spendthrifts.

Sometimes they consume their small Stocks, and run away in Debt to several others before their Apprentices have near learned their Trades, and then their Parents lose the Mony they paid with them, and put them to a new Charge to dispose of them to new Masters.

Other times drunken Servants and Apprentices ruin their Masters, by neglecting and spoiling their Work, whereby they lose their Custom, and are constrained to turn Journeymen themselves.

But this publick Damage doth not only attend Mechanicks, but extends it self to Factors and Merchants Servants, by which foreign Merchants are discouraged and draw off their Stocks. And several of our own, though themselves be industrious, and have a brisk Trades, yet find themselves insensibly decay in their Stock, till at last they discover a treacherous Servant has wasted their Estate by lewd courses.

It

It is endless to observe the several ways this swinish Vice damifies a Country, and is prodigious to observe how, of all degrees and conditions of men, it should be so much in request.

For as it in it self a God-provoking sin, so is it oft times inflicted as a dreadful Judgment of God on Nations as a punishment for other Sins, as on *Babylon, Isaiah 63. 6.* on *Moab Jeremiah 48. 26.* on *Jerusalem Jerem. 13. 13.* and always in order to their utter destruction; as is declared in those and multitudes of other Texts.

Now what Expedient can be proposed to remedy this Trade-obstructing and Wealth-wasting Vice? but that all Magistrates (since they are past the Cure of the Minister) in their respective places would diligently execute the good Laws enacted for the punishment of this Vice, not only against Drunkards and Tiplers, but against Taverns and Ale-houses, that permit persons to continue not only in their Houses above an hour, contrary to the Statute, but seven or eight hours, oft times whole nights, till they have depraved their Reason, and desperately inflamed their Blood, to the hazard of their Lives, at least, destroying their Health; many persons, and those no mean ones, have found it a short journey from the Tavern to the Grave, who might have lived many years eminently useful to their King and Country.

And if any should take the pains, out of veneration to those highly celebrated Deities *Bacchus* and *Venus*, to write a History of all the Victims offered to their Altars, it would fill a greater Volume than

Clarks

Clarks Martyrology. Besides a great number of maimed Souldiers of theirs, that like walking ghosts, appear dayly in the streets.

It is true, the Heathens in their libidinous Feasts of *Bacchanalis* and *Matronalis* gave themselves up to all manner of brutishnes; but then their zeal to their beastly Gods and the Lust of their Flesh were agreed, but they were as a Seminary of wickednes interdicted by the Senate, *Liv. fol. 48.*

The second Expedient to restrain this national ruining Vice, is, for all persons of Quality, especially Magistrates, to endeavour to bring it into contempt by their personall examples, as an Humour below their Quality, and a Practice inconsistent with their Duty to God, to whom they must all give an account of their Stewardships; and their Allegianee to their King, whose Laws require them to suppress all Vice, and particularly Healthing, by Proclamation, well observing that this Vice can never be restrain'd, whilst that enticing, ensnaring custom of Healthing is in such credit, not only in Taverns, but at Magistrates Tables, whereby oft times temperate and sober persons are in a sort trepann'd into excess, to the hazard of their Health, being unaccustomed thereto: For this snare obligeth persons on their civility to their Friend, or persons of Honor, to pledge their Healths; and having accepted two or three Glasses, as much as their Constitution will bear without harm, it will be resented as a disrespect to others succeeding, to refuse; nay, sometimes their Loyalty is at stake, when the

Kings

Kings Health comes after several others, if they find themselves indisposed to drink it now, though the difference between the form of words remember such a person, or a good Health to him may little differ in its self, yet the abuse of the latter is grown so general.

1. In the frequency and commoness of it, not only in Taverns, and at the Tables of persons of Quality, but with those of meaner rank; few think their Drink wholesome until it be seasoned with a Health.

2. In the enticing and ensnaring nature of the thing, though no man be imposed on; yet so loth are good humour'd persons to be singular in company, they adventure it, hoping they may bear it, which oft times they much suffer by.

Anacharsis used to say, the first draught was for thirst, the second for nourishment, the third for pleasure, but the fourth for madness, French Academy p. 83.

*Shall I, to please another's Wine-sprung mind,
Lose all mine own, God hath given me a measure
Short of his Cann and Body, must I find
A pain in that wherein he finds a pleasure.
Stay at the third glass, if thou lose thy hold,
Then thou art modest, and the Wine grows bold.*

Herbert

*If Reason move not, Gallants, quit the room,
(All in a shipwrack shift their several way)
Let not a common ruine thee intomb;
Be not a beast in courtesie, but stay,*

Stay

The Interest

*Stay at the third cup, or forgo the place,
Wine above all things doth Gods stamp deface.*

*Yet if thou sin in Wine or Wantonness,
Beast not thereof, nor make thy shame thy glory ;
Frailty gets pardon by Submissiveness ;
But he that boasts shuts that out of his story :
He makes flat war with God, and doth defie
With his poor Clod of earth the spacious Sky.*

Besides, this humour of Healthing is the cause of double, if not treble, the expence of Wine, that would not otherwise be wasted : but as it is the destruction of Health and Wealth, so is it in all persons sinful.

1. The enticer or provoker sins, *Habakkuck 2. 15.* *Wo be to him that giveth his Neighbour Drink : that putteth thy Bottle to him, and makest him drunken also, that thou mayest look on their nakedness :* a shameful Spuing shall be on all thy Glories.

But some think, because they are strong to drink without discomposing themselves, therefore they are innocent, though they drink more than makes two others drunken, &c. no, saith the Prophet *Isaiah 5. 22.* *Wo unto them that are mighty to drink Wine, and men of strength to mingle strong Drink :* there is a wo hangs over your heads as over your staggering spuing companions.

And if the Threatning of God will not restrain you; though by the same Word you shall be judged at the last day, where you shall receive the portion

portion of the Drunkards, which are excluded the Kingdom of Heaven. *1 Cor. 6. 10.*

Yet let the Light of natural Conscience, manifested by civil Heathens, in contempt of this besetting Vice, be considered; shall Christians not only practice but glory in Vice Heathens abhor, and are ashamed of.

The *Lacedemonians* used to make their Slaves drunk in the sight of their Children, to beget in them an abhorrency of the Vice, as only becoming Slaves. The *Carthaginians* esteemed the Name of a Drunkard hateful; for which they were thrust out of all publick Offices with ignominy.
Alex. ab Alex.

There being a drunken Cobler in *Boneventum* named *Vatinus*, they in disdain called their great Glasses by his Name, to caution persons of better quality from imitating so sordid a fellow, *Juyenal* fol. 143. Saith *Herbert*.

*If men of meaner sort
Make Drunkenness but a sport:
Yet let no men of place
Their State so much disgrace.*

This is a Sense-stupifying and a Reason-depraving Vice, yet its Votaries are most ready to reproach sober persons for Fanaticks, when themselves turn our Taverns, &c. into so many Bedlams: we have a Story in *Burtons Melancholy* of a crew of Fuddle-caps in a House in *Agrigentums*, had drunk themselves so mad, they conceited the

House

The Interest

House was a Ship tossing in the Sea, and ready to sink ; whereupon they fell a throwing all the Householdstuff out of the Windows to save themselves : the Magistrates coming to quiet their disorder, they worshipped them as Tritons or Sea-Gods. *Burt. Mel.* p. 163.

This Vice doth not only obstruct Trade and consume the Wealth of Nations, to their great impoverishing, but oft times is the cause of the utter ruine of great Kingdoms and mighty Monarchs, &c.

For proof of which take these Instances.

When Benhadad the King of *Affyria* was drinking himself drunk, with thirty two Kings his Allies, then a few people came out of *Samaria*, destroyed them first, and then his mighty Army, *1 Kings 20. 16.* So that Traytor *Zimri* watch'd his opportunity to destroy *Baasha* King of *Israel* when he was drinking himself drunk in the House of *Arza* his Steward, *1 Kings 16. 9.* Young *Belsazar* was surprized and slain, with 1000 of his Lords and all his Concubines, and his Kingdom seized by old *Darius the Mead*, when they were all drunk at a Feast, *Dan. 5.* Prophane Histories are full of the dreadful consequences of this brutish Vice. Great *Alexander* after he had conquered the World was such a slave to this Lust, it subjected him to all other Debaucheries, wherein *Solomons* saying was verified, *Prov. 16. 32.* *He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his Spirit than he that taketh a City.*

Drunken-

Drunkenness metamorphosed him to such a Bedlam, that he commanded to be killed his best beloved *Clitus* when drunk, and when sober was so vex'd, he was with difficulty restrained from killing himself; when drunk set stately *Persepolis* on fire at the instigation of *Lais* his Harlot; so Drunkenness and Whoredom joyned hands in that mad prank; soon after with his beloved *Epheston* drunk themselves dead whilst young, with 41 more of his Officers, who drunk with him for a wager, *Justins History*, pag. 139.

*Millions of helps cannot support that Crown
Which Sins assault, Fate justly pulls it down,
That all the world shall know, how greatest Kings
Are thrall to change, as well as weaker things.
No marvel thou, great Monarch, didst complain,
And weep there were no other Worlds to gain:
Thy griefs and thy complaints were not amiss;
H'as grief enough, that finds no world but this.*

Tir Owen the Rebel would drink his Body into such flame, his Servants used to set him up to the chin in earth to cool him, *Camb. Eliz.*

Philip of Macedon, Zeno, Bonosus, Phocius the Emperor, Armintus King of Siracuse, Cleonians King of Lacedemonia, Sliolmus King of the Goths, Touthio King of the Ilerions, Marcus Antonius, Vortiger King of the Britains, &c. came all to ill ends, and their States ruined by their Drunkenness.

The Mahometans are such enemies to this besetting Vice, they prohibit Wine. A Souldier being

The Interest

being brought drunk before the Grand Vizier, he sentenc'd him to have boiling Lead poured into his mouth and ears, *Turks History* fol. 1332. No wonder the temperate Turks should overrun so much of debauched Christendom; for as this Vice is destructive to Cities and Countries in peace, much more it is fatal to Armies in war.

As is before instanced *Sardanapalus*, *Baaشا*, *Belshazzar* *Alexander M. &c.*

And that this hath been the experience of the Antients, Histories abundantly testifie; saith *Juvenal*, *Victory comes easily when the Foes are tipled, lisping reeling men are easily overcome*, fol. 404.

The warlike *Athenians* so detested Drunkenness, they prohibited Wine to be tasted in their Camp. *Howels History of the World* 395.

Manlius was accused by the Senate for ushering Effeminacy and Luxury into *Rome* by the Lax Discipline in his Army, the same *Galuenus*, Howel 948.

The old *Affyrian* Monarchy, after 1400 years flourishing, was lost by the Effeminacy and Debauchery of *Sardanapalus*, on whose Tomb they writ this Epitaph, *Friend, eat, drink and play, for all things else are not worth a slip.* Howel fol. 14.

Agron Prince of *Ilyria* drunk himself dead for joy of his Successes against the *Atolians*. Howel p. 699.

The Indignation Heathens have had against this Vice, appears in the opprobrious Epithetes they have put upon the greatest Masters in the Art: it was said of *Bonosus* the Emperor, he was born

both not to live, but to drink, and when he was overcome by *Probus* and hang'd himself, the people in scorn upbraided him, saying; *Here hangs a Tankard, not a Man*: *Diotinus of Athens* for his excessive Drinking was in scorn called *Tundish*: young *Cicero* was term'd *Tricongii* for his drinking whole Cups.

It was writ on the Tomb of *Darius King of Persia*, to his disgrace, *He could drink soundly, and bear it bravely*; intimating it was all he was good for.

Tiberius the Emperor was called *Biberius*, for his excess in drinking.

The *Egyptians* erected a Pillar in the Temple of *Thebes*, on which were engraven Curses against their King *Minus*, he being the first that turned the *Egyptians* from their simple frugal way of living, to Voluptuousnes and chargeable Delight; *Plutarchs Morals 121.*

I know it is the opinion of some, that men are most desperate when drunk; but that is only in the Tavern, where many have made Challenges when drunk, they would have been glad, with a saving to their Honour, to have withdrawn when sober.

So in Battel drunken men may desperately charge at the first on-set, though they are so incapable of levelling, the Birds in the Air and the Moles in the Earth are as much in danger of their shot as their Enemies; and after a Repulse will presently be in such a confusion, they are not to be rallied, nor reduc'd to order, and so are run down

by their Enemies orderly Squadrons, when they are double, nay treble, their numbers.

I utterly despair on those (saith Luther) that fight against the Turks, and yet are worse than the Turks themselves with blaspheming, with swearing, Lechery, and all manner of wilfulness: to whom (I know) God neither will nor can give Fortune, if such insolent people be sent to war for us. It dependeth on them that repent and amend themselves, that honour Gods Word and his Sacraments, that do humble themselves before God, and heartily pray; whereby God may suffer himself to be softned, and to keep his holy Angels by us in the field: otherwise all labour is lost, and the punishment (instead of victory) must proceed.

Luthers
Col. 540.

So great care did Rome take in her flourishing state, to preserve the Armies from Effeminacy and Debauchery, they would never suffer them to be idle, but still employed them in either draining Boggs, paving Causeys over Marshes or cutting Roads through Woods to gain easie access into Fastnesses, esteeming Idlenes the Mother of all Debauchery, and Debauchery the ruine of Armies. *Heylins Cosm.* fol. 56 or 57.

It would fill a Volume to write the Instances Histories give us of the fatal effects of this Nature-depraving Vice.

But I shall confine my self to one of those many great Captains who have declared it their Opinion.

Livy records the Speech of Marsellus to his Souldiers, to encourage them to fight against their

their debauched Adversary, as followeth;

As for them, they are such as are decayed with rioting, and following their delights in Capua, such as, with Wine-bibbing in every Tavern, Whore-hunting in every Stew and Brothel-house all the whole Winter, are become infeebled, &c. as for that lively strength and vigour of theirs, its clean gone; those able and lusty Bodies, those courageous Hearts wherewith they passed over the Pyrenean Mountains, and the high Clifts of the Alps are gone, there remains now nothing but the reliques and shadow of those men to fight: adding withal, that Capua was another Cannæ unto Hanibal: there died his warlike prowess, there lost he is. Military Discipline, there was the glorious fame of former days buried, there the hope of future time for ever suppressed and stifled.

Geraldus Cambrensis, Chap. 38. expresseth a deep fence of this sort of Misgovernment of Ireland: saith he, Men were appointed to have the charge of Rule and Government of Ireland, who were more meet to talk in a Parlour, than to fight in Fields; better skill'd to be clad in a warm Gown, than to be shrowded in Armour, &c. Moreover the Serving-men and the Souldiers which were in Garrison, they liking well of their Captains and Masters manners and loose life, gave themselves to the like, spending their whole time in rioting, banqueting, Whoredom, all other dissolute and Wantonness, &c.

The Interest

And albeit they thus lying in the Towns in security, and at rest, wallowing in loose and wanton life, every day being a Holiday to Bacchus and Venus ; yet the state of the Land at large was most miserable and lamentable, &c.

And thus our men given over to this trade and kind of life became faint-hearted, and afraid to look upon the Enemy ; and on the contrary the Enemy most strong, stout and bold : thus was the Land governed, and thus the same posted towards the Destruction of the English Nation and Government.

I could multiply instances of the ruining influence of this Reason-depraving Vice to Armies, who when once debauched, the safety of a State is endangered by drunken Guards and Sentinels, &c. and thereby Industry discouraged, the Wealth of a Nation wasted by Souldiers spending above their pay, and thereby running into debt with the Inhabitants, much of which they lose, and sometimes a few drunken Souldiers will stir up a whole Army to mutiny, to the hazard of all ; and in these and many other cases becomes a great obstructor of Trade and consumer of Wealth.

*Remember this, all you that spend
Your life on Drink, and mark your end :
As oft as Cups and Pots you toss,
So oft the River Styx you cross.
You have an old and leaking Throat,
Still sucking in like Charons Boat.*

CHAP.



C H A P. V.

*Observing the Spring from whence flow the
Debaucheries of Christendom.*

Now to what shall we attribute the great increase of these Trade-obstructing and Wealth-consuming Debaucheries, that like a mighty torrent overflow the greatest part of Christendome, as well as *Ireland*, incomparably exceeding former ages, and all the Mahometan and Pagan Countries, we read of? it is not from a lax Principle in the Christian Religion; for that above all Religions in the world declares vehemently against Swearing, Whoring, Drunkenness and all Immoralities; for though men may be good Moralists, and no good Christians, as *Plato, Seneca, Plut. &c.* yet none can be good Christians that are not good Morallists: its better for men they were swearing, blasphemous, lascivious, drunken Pagans, than such Christians, as our Saviour saith, *It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of Judgment, than for Chorazin, &c.*

The Interest

Therefore, if we trace these Debaucheries to their Spring-head, we shall find their Original in *Romes* Apostacy from its primitive Principles; For though, as she decayed in purity of Doctrine and holines of Life, and grew in Wealth and Potency, as one of themselves observes, Golden Chalices ushered in Wooden Priests; yet did she not arrive to her stature in Prophaneness till she came to be burdened with Ceremonies, holy Places, holy Orders of Monks, holy Vestments, &c. crowded holy Lives out of her Fellowship, and then usurping the Supremacy, by the aid of that monster of men *Phocus*, she imbibed his Manners for his aid sake.

Herbert.

*I know not by what vertue Rome deposes
A Christian Prince : did Aaron command Moses ?
If sacred Scriptures mention such a thing,
Sure Rome has colour to depose a King.*

But as soon as this usurped Head over Christendom became potent, and subinitted to by most Christian Princes, as the whole World once became an Arrian; so the whole Church became a Prophanist, till the intolerable Pride and Insolence of their Prelates, and Ignorance and Debauchery of their Clergy mov'd some of the *German* Princes, who groan'd under their intolerable Yoke, to murmur at it, and discourse of Reformation, which encouraged *John Hus* and *Jerome of Prague*, and after them *Luther*, with many other both *German* and *French* Divines, to declare publickly against the

the Pride and Debauchery of the Clergy, with their cheating Indulgences; but his Holiness, with their Eminencies, though they confess'd there were cause, yet disdain'd a sorry Fryar should be the Promoter.

When I was at Worms (said Luther) the Bishop of Magdeburgh came unto me, and said, I know we have an evil Cause in hand, and that your Doctrine is right: yet for some reasons best known to our selves, we neither may nor will receive it. In like manner the Cardinal of Saltsburgh said unto me, we know, and it is written in our Consciences, that Priests justly might marry, and that Matrimony is far better than the shameless and wicked Whoring which Priests drive and use; yet notwithstanding (said he) we must neither alter nor reform it; for the Emperor will not suffer Germany to be disturbed for the Conscience sake. Luth. Colloq. 325.

In the Council of Lateran, ann. Dom. 1515. they first concluded the Article of the Resurrection, though the Pope had been infallible long before; and then also decreed, that a Cardinal might lawfully keep but five Whores and Youths to be his Chamberlains, &c. But they had his Holinesses stores of his tolerated Stews to supply their wants: besides his vast treasure of Indulgences to pardon these venial Sins.

Surely, said Luther, some fearful Destruction attends them who practice such horrible abominations,

The Interest

that if with my eyes I had not seen them I should never have believed them, fol. 324. And then writes the Generation, as he titles it, of the abominable Desolations of Antichrist, the Son of Hypocrisie, the Son of the Devil: saith he;

The Devil begat Darkness, Darkness begat Ignorance, Ignorance begat Error and his Brethren, Error begat Free-will and Presumption out of Self-conceit, Free-will begat Merit, Merit begat Forgetfulness of God, Forgetfulness begat Transgression, Transgression begat Superstition, Superstition begat Satisfaction, Satisfaction begat the Mass-offering, Mass-offering begat the Priest of Uncion, the Priest of Uncion begat Misbelief, Misbelief begat King Hypocrisie, Hypocrisie begat Trading with Offerings for Gain, Trading for Gain begat Purgatory, Purgatory begat the yearly solemn Vigils, yearly Vigils begat Church-livings, Church-livings begat Mammon, Mammon begat swelling Superfluity, swelling Superfluity begat Fulness, Fulness begat Rage, Rage begat Freedom, Freedom begat Rule and Dominion, Dominion begat Pomp, Pomp begat Ambition, Ambition begat Symony, Symony begat the Pope and his Brethren, about the time of the Babylonian Captivity, after the Babylonian Captivity the Pope begat the Mystery of Iniquity, the Mystery of Iniquity begat sophistical Divinity, sophistical Divinity begat rejecting of the holy Scripture, rejecting of holy Scripture begat Tyranny, Tyranny begat slaughtering of the Saints, slaughtering of the Saints begat contemning of God, contemning

temning of God, begat Dispensation, Dispensation begat wilful Sin, wilful Sin begat Abomination, Abomination begat Desolation, Desolation begat Anguish, Anguish begat Questioning, Questioning begat searching out the Ground of Truth, out of which the Desolator the Pope (called Antichrist) is revealed.

Thus you have the Rise and Growth of Error and Prophaneness how they gained ground against Truth and Piety step by step, by a person that lived in an age of Discovery, and made it his business to detect their Errors and Prophaneness.

Now from this polluted Fountain hath flowed all the Debauchery of Christendom; and since the reformed Churches have so tenaciously contested about the true Forms, many of them have lost the true power and holy Life of Religion, and degenerated into *Romes* Prophaneness; and doubtless will lick up their Errors and Superstitions, rather than part with their Lusts, when they come in competition; for when once a people have prostrated themselves to all sorts of vicious Manners, what should restrain them from imbibing all sorts of corrupt Doctrines? Consciences once hardened by a custom in Immoralities can never much struggle for the truth of Divinityes.

And no History, sacred or civil, gives an account of any age so depraved in their Morals, as this we live in.

Never

Never did men so glory in those Vices Turks and Pagans would blush at, as the debauched Christians of this age ; never did any so attempt to outface Sobriety, Temperance, and Chastity, as if they were the properties of a sneaking peasantly Humour, compared with their Heroick Vices : how have men learned to degrade humane Nature, as if the Nature of Brutes were more excellent ? that live as if they had abandoned the common hope of Mankind, relating to a future state ; and even say, as their predecessors in Voluptuousness and Atheisin, *Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die.*

The Taverns, &c. are their Oratories, and their Devotion scurrilous Drollery at all things serious ; as if they designed to jeer all Morality and Divinity out of the world ; and esteem all men out of their wits, that are not mad enough to be free Denisons of their Bedlaim : if these men do believe there is either Heaven or Hell, they must suppose the difference is so little, they would not give much to choose, or else they dream of a Paganish Elysium, where all sensual Delights will be enjoyed ; and conclude, what is to be the Happiness of the next world cannot be the Sin or Misery of this : if they do believe there is a God, it must be as *Psal. 50.* a God that is altogether such an one as themselves : these Fools that make a mock of Sin are neer akin to those Fools that say in their Hearts there is no God, *Psal. 14. 1.* for they'l worship none devoutly, but *Bacchus* and *Venus*, and their Servants ye are, saith

saith the Apostle, unto whom ye obey, &c. If their Senses did not convince them of the contrary, their Reason is so depraved, they would conclude, grim Death durst not arrest persons of their Quality and Mettle; though every Vice they so welcom are Deaths Serjeants, and daily seise them, and post them away to their dreadful Eternity. Had they but leisure to consider how many of their jovial Companions have been haled out of the world by Adultery and Drunkenness, &c. and would but observe how many maintayned Soldiers to *Bacchus* and *Venus* creep up and down the streets, it might convince them, if God hath not given them up to a reprobate sense, &c. that this way of sin is not the way of safety either to Body or Soul.

If they believe a Judgment to come, they fancy they shall be there treated like Gentlemen, they cannot believe their own Consciences, who they have enslaved and kept silent all their lives, should be so rude, to accuse and condemn them then, when they will have no other Friend to plead for them, or that their faithful Ministers, who frequently warn'd them from the Pulpit, will be so little Gentlemen, as to witness against them at that Bar; or that the merciful Judge will be so severe, to send them away with a *Go ye cursed into Hell fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels*, for the omission of so smaall a Duty, as they now esteem sincere and timely Repentance.

Or

Or at the worst, if he should, the Devils will be afraid to seise them, lest they should take it for an Affront that deserves a Cudgelling; or, at least, will not be so ungrateful, as to torment such faithful Servants to their Interest in the World, that were always at their beck, and never rejected one of their Temptations: these are such as the Prophet *Isaiah* complains of in his time, who said, *We have made a Covenant with Death, and with Hell we are at an agreement*; when the overflowing Scourge shall pass thorough, it shall not come unto us.

I say no thought can be so vile, nor imagination so absurd; no day-dream nor Enthusiaſtical delusion can parallel the depraved Fancies of these Professors of Prophaneness; if we may judge the Tree by their Fruits, or mens Hearts by their Lives; who Saint *Paul* reproves with Tears, *Philippians 3. 18.* that they so walk, as they are a shame to the Christian Religion, *whose God is their Belly, whose Glory is their Shame, &c.*

And in vain shall we strive to rescue the Obſtruction of our Trade, and Consumption of our Wealth from the Desolating Influences of these four sorts of Debauchees, until Atheism and Prophaneness are esteemed more God-provoking Sins, and more ignoble and ingentile Qualities.

Herbert.

Herbert.

Oh how corrupt's the Nature of mans Will,
That breaks those Laws which very Beasts fulfil !
When we have lost our way to God, how level,
How easie to be found's the way to th Devil !

CHAP.



C H A P. VI.

*Stating the intolerable Charge and
Expence Ireland is at, by main-
taining Foreigners to its pecu-
liar Interest in the most profitable
Employments and Offices.*

I shall only make my Observations of what *Ireland* hath suffered thereby these fifteen years, viz. from the 28th of July 1662. the Duke of Ormond first entered on the Government, until the 24th of August 1677. the Earl of Essex surrendered, which Charge and Expence I shal reduce to these seven Heads.

1. *By the Court of Claims.*
2. *By the Farmers of the Kings Revenue and Treasury.*
3. *By special Grants upon the Treasury of Gratuities and Pensions to Non-residents.*
3. *By*

4. By Foreign Merchants and their Factors.
 5. By exporting and importing on Foreign bottoms.
 6. By Absentees.
 7. By the Chief Governours.

BY the Court of Claims, the Commissioners all Foreigners, besides several Counsellors, Assistants and Servants, and tho' there were reasons why the Judges of this Court shuold be such as were not interested in the Estates of *Ireland*; yet what they gained was so much loss to the Country: for,

Besides what other advantages and profits they made, they receiv'd 1 penny per Acre upon all Lands passing their Court, being 6883 846 Acres, which amounts to £

All other advantages
to them and theirs, com-

The Interest

	Yearly Charge	Total.
ing in and going out with them, cannot be e- stimated to less than ——————	5000 00 00	
2. The last Sett of Farmers, with their Commissioners, all For- eigners, and about 20 of the best sort of their Officers came and re- turned with them:		
1. The Profit of their Farm estimated at <i>per ann.</i> 10000 00 00 for seven years amounts to ——————	70000 00 00	
Besides the Interest the King paid for their seventy thousand pound advance-money at <i>per annum</i> —————— which for seven years a- mounts to ——————	49000 00 00	
2. The Salary of their five Commissioners, at 500 <i>l.</i> each, is <i>per annum</i> which for seven years a- mounts to ——————	17500 00 00	
3. Twenty Officers Foreigners at 100 <i>l.</i> one with another is <i>per ann.</i> which for seven years a- mounts unto ——————	14000 00 00	I take

gai

Tearly Charge.

Total.

I take no notice of the first sett of Farmers, because they were our Countrymen, and our Common-Wealth did enjoy them and their Gains after their Farm was determined.

The Contractors for the Treasury being not accountable, we cannot so well compute their Gains; but I have heard some (more capable of guessing) affirm, that when all their Arrears are got in, they cannot gain less than 60000 l. & 2 thirds of them being Foreigners, is damage to the Country 40000 l. their Commissioners being most our Countrymen, or staying with us, I shall not account their Salaries less to the Country, and I cannot learn they employ'd many Foreigners under them.

— 40000 00 00

3. Special Pensions

G

and

The Interest

and Annuities payable by the Establishment for Ireland to persons not inhabiting there, computed at *per ann.*-- which for fifteen years amounts to -----

	Yearly Charge.	Total
	5000 00 00	-----
	-----	75000 00 00
4. The fourth Ex- pence is by Foreign Merchants and their Factors, which can no way be exactly com- puted, but by examin- ing the Custom-house Books; but at least one moyety of the whole Traffique of the Nati- on is carried on by For- eign Stocks; the whole Profit accrewwing to the Foreigner is estimated to be at least <i>per ann.</i> . Then one half of this Trade is managed by foreign Factors, which must amount unto at least the eighth part of the profit of their prin- cipals, which is <i>per ann.</i> . this charge for 15 years amounts to -----	40000 00 00	
	5000 00 00	-----
	-----	675000 00 00
		For

of IRELAND.

83

Yearly Charge.	Total.
----------------	--------

For what Factorage
is given to our own In-
habitants 'tis no los
but gain to the Coun-
try , all which may
be easily preserved to
them, without obstruct-
ing Trade, or lessening
the Kings Customs, as
I shew in the Chapter
of *Company Trade*.

5. Our trading in
foreign bottoms is a
vast Charge to this
Kingdom , computed
at least to amount unto
per annum ——————
Besides the los of the
Seamens Habitations,
and Families expences,
the chief Inhabitans of
Port-towns, as also the
many Artists employed
in building, repairing &
rigging of Ships, &c. at
least *per annum* ——————
damage, as I shall fur-
ther evidence in the
Chapter of Shipping ,
which may all be saved
by Corporation-Trade,

60000 00 00

30000 00 00

as appears in that Chapter.

This expence of 90000 pound *per annum* for 15 years amounts to --

6. Above any of these is the Stock drained out of this Kingdom by Absentees, which is now augmented above treble what it was formerly, by the great Estates the Adventurers possess, who (being most of them estated men in England) live there, and draw over a vast sum of Money yearly; they possess of the Lands of this Kingdom 787326 Acres, which valued at 2*s.* an Acre one with another (much of their Lands lying in the best parts of the Kingdom) amounts to 78732*s.* 12*s.* *per annum*; and it is judged the Estates of his Royal Highness, the Earles of Corke,

Yearly Charge.

Total.

1350000 00

Anglesey,

	Yearly charge	Total.
Anglesey, and Strafford, with other Noblemen and Gentlemen of Eng- land, by old and new Titles, draw over as much more, both which is <i>per annum</i> —————— which they spend and lay out in Purchases in England, &c. which for 15 years amounts to ——————	157465 40	2361978 00
So that this one drain, if no sluice can be contrived to stop its current, must necessari- ly draw <i>Ireland</i> dry of Wealth, if all the fore- mentioned impedimenta were removed, which our predecessors have long groaned under : and several strict Laws have been made to prevent it ; as in the third year of <i>Richard 2.</i> <i>Sir John Davies</i> gives an account of an Ordinance made in <i>England</i> against such as were ab- sent from their Lands		

And

OF IRELAND.

And though it might seem hard these Laws should now be executed, yet it is harder a Nation should be ruined: and if themselves be necessarily detained in His Majesties Service, or by their greater concerns in England, yet why they should not consign their Interest in this Kingdom to their younger Sons, &c. or be engaged some other way to spend a good part of their Rents here is not easily answered, unless private mens Interest be to be prefer'd before the publick; for this is a burthen this Kingdom will not be long able to bear.

I might also insist upon the great expence this Kingdom is at in educating the Sons of most persons of Quality in the Inns of Court and Universities in *England*, and Foreign Countries, which is computed to cost this Country at least 10000 pound per ann. as also the

The Interest

	Yearly charge	Total.
necessary Attendance of our Nobility and Gentry at Court, besides the Expences of their Persons and Retinue, their Charge for new Honours, Offices and Estates computed to 10000 pound <i>per ann.</i> is for both <i>per ann.</i> -----	20000 0 0	-----
which for fifteen years amounts to -----	-----	300000 0 0
7. The chief Governors for eight years of this Period, aliens to Irelands peculiar Interest, their Salaries and Perquisites, at least, <i>per annum</i> 12000 <i>l.</i> , their Attendants and Dependents coming and returning with them estimated at 1000 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i> , both which for the said eight years amounts to -----	-----	104000 0 0
Add to this the voluntary unnecessary expence of this Kingdom in foreign Manufactures, &c. as stated Chapter the second is <i>per annum</i> ----- which for fifteen years amounts to ----- £180000	267500 0 0	----- 4012500 0 0 As

of IRELAND.

69

As also the Ex-
pence of Debauch-
eys treated of in *chap.*
3. computed at *per*
anum -----
which for the like
time amounts to -----

There is also to
be added as a yearly
Charge, in case of
the Chief Governors
being a Foreigner to
Irelands Interest -----

The yearly Charge
of Ireland is *per an.*

The total for this
Period is -----

A Consumption
great enough to beg-
ger rich England,
much more poor Ire-
land.

<i>Yearly charge</i>	<i>Total.</i>
294000 0 0	4410000 00 00
-----	-----
13000 0 0	913465 4 0
-----	-----
	13512660 13 10

The End of the First Part.

CC BY-SA 3.0 DE

THE
INTEREST
OF
IRELAND
IN ITS
TRADE and WEALTH
STATE D.

P A R T II.

Proposing Expedients for *Ireland's* Relief against its Trade-obstructing and Wealth-consuming Maladies hinted in the first Part.

By *Richard Lawrence Esq;*

Dablin, Printed by *Jos. Ray*, for *Jo. North, Sam. Helsham, J. Howes, W. Winter and El. Dobson* Booksellers. 1682.

САДЫ
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THE
ALPHABET

An Alphabetical Table of the
principle things in the second
Part.

A.

The Act of Parliament of 17 Car. 2.
Irelands Magna Charta, and why,

p. 49, 50

Army of Ireland to be managed for the
planting of the Countrey, and how, p. 97

Army of Ireland, how it ought to be qual-
fied, p. 114, 115

Aliens, why Protestants of England are to
be so esteem'd to the peculiar Interest of
Ireland, p. 115 to 122

Apostates first from Primitive Purity and
Truth in Religion, who, p. 218 to 220

Antichrist, who so esteem'd by Popish Au-
thors, p. 206 to 221

B.

Of Banks, p. 1, 2, 3, 4

Bankers, their Insolvency hath been a great
damage to Ireland, p. 4

Bank, East-India, its Constitution, p. 7

H

Bankers

A Table to

- Bankers great benefit by their united Stocks, p. 8
Banks prosperity depends on the Princes countenance, p. 9.
Banks universally useful to a Countrey low-
ers, Interest, Exchange, and nurseth Ma-
nufacturies, p. 10, 11
Banks secure Peace, rescue Trade out of For-
reigners hands, increase Shipping, Fish-
ings, &c, p. 12, 13
Banks accommodate persons of all Ranks and
Trades, p. 16, 17
Bank methods of managing, p. 37, 38
Bank Security is most visible solvent, and
freest from trouble and hazard, p. 35
Babylon mystical, where, p. 220, 221

C.

- Corporation Trade the foundation of the
great Trade of London, Amsterdam,
Venice, &c. p. 17
Corporation Trade raised the Hance-Towns
of Germany, p. 18
Corporation Trade still enrich'd the place of
its residence, p. 25
Governs the Trade of the Countrey, p. 32
Catalogue of Irelands chief Governors from
ann. 1271 to 1680. p. 122 to 156
Coins,

the Second Part.

*Coin*s, whether advisable to enhance their Value, or debase their Alloy in Ireland,
p. 173 to 181

Council of Trent, their Illegality, &c. p. 215
to 217

Christians in Asia, Africa, &c. of the Protestant Faith, exceed the number of Papists in Europe, p. 218

D.

Divisions in Religion much obstruct the Trade and Wealth of Ireland, p. Q. R.

Dissenters ought to avoid being engaged in Factions of State, p. M. N. O.

Dissenters cannot rationally expect protection from a Prince or State, to whom they will not give all security in their power for their Loyalty, p. L. M.

Dissenting Protestants not dangerous to the State of Ireland, though they were as malignant against the Religion establish'd, as the Papists, p. I. K. L.

Doctrine of Devils, by whom taught, p. 221

E.

Englands danger, if Ireland were possess'd by an enemy, especially by the French.

Englands just Title to what they possess of Ireland, p. 73 to 76 H 2 Eng-

A Table to

Englands Factions still weaken'd its Interest in Ireland, p. 75, 76

Establishment of Ireland, p. 156 to 162

Excommunication of Princes by Popes frequent, p. 233, 234

Errors in Nonconformity more dangerous than errors in Conformity, when, p. O.P.

Essentials in Worship agreed and maintain'd by Conforming and Nonconforming Protestants, p. G.

F.

Fishing, how to increase, p. 13

Friars, their several Orders, whence, and why instituted, p. 212, 213

Fundamentals agreed to by Dissenters with the Church, p. G.

G.

Governors of Ireland unacquainted with the Country, not capable of well-managing its Affairs, and why, p. 102 to 107

This hath been the opinion and practice of our Kings from its first Conquest, of which, instances, p. 108, 109

In what cases excepted, p. 110, 111

Ireland's English Interest potent above what it was before the last Rebellion, p. 47, 48

the Second Part.

Irelands Interest in being Govern'd by its
own Members, p. 47 to 96

Irish Papists, their interest in the potency of
the English Interest in Ireland, p. 73
to 94

Ignorance in the Scripture the cause of Pa-
pists Rebellion, p. 91, 92

Judges and Juries of Ireland much more
ingaged to suppress Sedition and Rebelli-
on in Ireland, than those of England can
be, and why, p. 105, 106

Jesuits, their inhumane bloody principles,
from their own Authors, p. 195 to 203

Papists reflections and glosses on them, p. 204
to 207

Jesuits, their Original and Characte, p. 211
to 214

Jesuits, by what Authority their Order
Instituted, p. 214

Jesuits banished, and their Tenents explo-
ded, by whom, p. 222 to 225

Jesuits, the natural consequence of their
Principles, p. 225

They abrogate the Laws of Humanity, Mo-
rality and Divinity, p. 226

Their dexterity in fathering their Brats on
innocent persons, p. 227

Jesuits, their suitable practices to their
bloody

A Table to

- Bloody Principles*, p. 231 to 240
Jesuits employed by the Pope to destroy the Greek Church, p. 236
Jesuits bloody work in the West and East Indies, p. 238

L.

- Lands of Ireland most possest by English Proprietors*, p. 48
Loyalty evidenc'd in many of the Irish Papists, p. 89 to 203
Lutherans and Calvinists in Germany more differ than English Protestants, yet esteem each other Protestants, and unite against Popery, p. H.
Laws against single life useful in Ireland and why; p. A.B.C.

M.

- Massacre of Ireland, how inhumane and barbarous*, p. 81 to 87
Militia of Ireland is its great Security, p. 98
Militia neglected, the cause of the easie massacring the naked Protestants 1641, p. 81
Manufactories of Ireland, by whom encouraged and erected, how ruined, p. 188 to 191
Mystical Babylon, who, in the opinion of Papists, p. 220

No-

the Second Part.

N.

Nobility or Peers of Ireland most English Protestants, p. 63 to 67

Nobility, their Catalogue, 1571, and 1641,
p. 67 to p. 73

Non-residents enjoying Sallaries, a great loss to Ireland, p. 99

O.

The Original of most Noble and Worshipful English Families of Ireland were from Offices, p. 96

Ormond Duke, the longest Regency over Ireland, under the greatest difficulties, and why, p. 112, 113

Ormond, the great confusion he found Ireland in at his access to the Government 1662. and how soon composed, p. 182 to 188

P.

Parliaments of Ireland altered in their Constitution, from an Irish to an English Interest, p. 58 to 63

A good Plea for Irish Papists against their Jesuited Priests that shall again instigate them to rebel, p. 88

Planting of Ireland discouraged by restraint of Trade, and being liable to be tried for

A Table to

*capital Offences by Judges and Juries in
England, to whom they are unknown, &c.*

p. 106

*Poysonings and Stabbings the Popes argu-
ments to convince gainsayers, instances,*
p. 228, 229

*Principles of the Jesuits inconsistent with
the just power and right of Princes,*
p. 240

R.

*Religion Protestant condemned as a veno-
mous Doctrine, and Hellish Opinion by
the Papists, p. 76*

*Religion Protestant, why no more received
by Irish Papists, p. 90, 91*

*Rebellion and bloodiness of Popery above all
other Religions in the World, whence,
p. 193, 194*

*Rome can be no Mother-Church, nor Su-
perior to others, why, p. 218*

*Rome hath only the primacy of Apostacy
from the principles of the Primitive
Church, p. 218 to 222*

*Rome, &c always promoted and encouraged
the rebellions of Ireland, p. 76 to 85*

*Romes struggles with the Greek-Church for
Supremacy, reduced them to Turkish
Slavery, p. 237*

Sta-

the Second Part.

- S Statute Staple, its original use and method, p. 43 to 47
Souldiers, who are best for Field Armies, p. 98, 99, to 120
The Statutes of the 10th. of Hen. 7. and 23d. of Hen. 8. no bar to persons born in Ireland from being Lord Lieutenant, &c. p. 100, 101.
Souldiers, 1000 bred in Ireland, worth 2000 bred in England for Irish Service, and why, p. 118
Subsidies of Ireland, their establishment, p. 164 to 173
Supremacy from the Pope, from whence, p. 208, 209
Supremacy, a Tallent so well improved by the Pope, that he deserves it, p. 234
Schism Criminal, when, p. D.E.

T.

- Trade of England ingrost by the Guild of the Hance, p. 18
Trade in Companies countenanc'd. by the Kings and Parliaments of England since Edward the Third, p. 20
Trade to the East-Indies, when first obtain'd, p. 24

Trea-

A Table to

Treasure, the vast summ Ireland hath cost
England above what it was ever worth,

p. 53

Table reducing Plantation Acres into Eng-
lish, p. 162, 163

Trade, wby no more improv'd under the
Government of the Justices and Duke of
Ormond, p. 181

Tyrants are those Princes over their own
Subjects who are Slaves to the Pope,

p. 235

Turkish Slavery of the Greek Church,
the Product of the Popes Supremacy,

p. 237

Trent Council illegal, &c. p. 217

U.

Usher Bishop, his opinion declared it was
the Interest of Irish Papists to support
and strengthen the Interest of the Crown
of England in Ireland, p. 77 to 81

Usher Bishop, Prophecies of the Irish Re-
bellion 40 years before it was, and of
great trouble to the Protestants by the
Papists yet to come, p. 80, 81

Vengeance of God dreadful on the Irish for
their bloody Massacre 1641, p. 86, 87

Unity, though boasted of by Papists, yet are
they

the Second Part.

they much more divided than Protestants, p. H. I.

Union of Papists chiefly in Errors and Immoralities,

Union in Religion, how far necessary amongst Protestants to promote the Prosperity, and secure the Peace of Ireland, p. C. D.

W.

Weaving Broad cloath, when first set up in England, p. 25

Wools first prohibited their transportation, p. 25

Wools may easily be prevented transporting, expediency proposed, p. 39 to 43

Wools transporting the ruine of our Clothing Trade, p. 39

Wall'd Towns to be increased and well planted, to secure the safety of English Protestants in Ireland, p. A.

Women drunk with the blood of the Saints, Rev. 17. who, in the Papists opinion, p. 219, 221

Y.

Guild of the Hance, its Antiquity and great Trade, p. 43

Their dissolution, and why, p. 34

Zeal

A Table, &c.

Z.

Zeal preposterous, like Hell; hot, without light, that makes different Opinions different Religions, saith Bp. Bramhall p.E. Zeal Popish and Jesuitical, that esteems all Separation Criminal Schism, ibid.

Books lately Printed.

A Judgment of the Comet, which became first generally visible to us in Dublin, Decemb. the 13th. 1680. By a person of Quality.

Foxes and Firebrands, or a Specimen of the Danger and Harmony of Popery and Separation: Wherein is prov'd, from undeniable matter of Fact and Reason, that Separation from the Church of England is, in the judgment of Papists, and by sad experience found, the most compendious way to introduce Popery, and ruin the Protestant Religion; in two Parts, Octav. by R. W.

Interest of Ireland, &c.

THE

I

THE SECOND PART OF IRELAND'S INTEREST, &c.

Proposing Expedients for *Ireland's* Relief against its Trade-obstructing, and Wealth-consuming Maladies hinted in the First Part.

CHAP. I.

Of Banks and Corporation Trade; I joyn them together, not that it is necessary in Countreys qualified to manage them distinct; but where Members and Stock is wanting, they are very consistent in the same hands, to be managed by the same united Stocks and Policies.

Banks are of divers kinds designed for several uses, but still aiming at the same end, which is gain either to the State, or particular Persons, together with such credit to their Bills, that

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they become current in all places, and to all persons where, and to whom assigned.

These Banks sometimes consist of particular persons, but usually Societies, as the Chamber of London, Banks of Amsterdam, and Venice, &c. Some of which chiefly designs Exchange, as Placentia in Italy, Lions in France; others Usury, as Genoa, &c. others both for the publick and private benefit, in increasing Trade, securing and employing Orphans, Widows, and helpless people to money, &c.

* p. 672.

Bodin * observes, that in Florence, Siana, &c. they had their Banks nam'd Mounts of Piety, wherein he that would deposite any Sum at the Birth of a Daughter, should receive ten times so much, when they arriv'd at the age of eighteen years; where also Poor men might borrow Money upon Pawns at low interest, to prevent excessive Usuries, whereby the poor were opprest: and that Antonius Pius, and Ser- vius, &c. delivered the publick Money in the Treasury to industrious men, to employ in Trade on Pawns, or other good security, whereby the Merchant gained by Traffick, and the publick Moneys increased by Interest; besides (saith he), a greater benefit did arise, the publick Treasure was preserv'd from the paws of Thieves, and Horse-leeches at the Court, and from being otherwise wasted by the Princes prodigality.

But I shall only treat of Banks, as they relate to Trade and Commerce, and become useful to others by accident.

Sometimes Banks are erected from the plenty of Money, in places not capable of Trade, or where persons are not willing to a lventure in Trade, and so

so employ their Money at Usury, or Exchange, to foreign places, as *Genoa*, *Placentia*, and most of the Banks in *Italy*, which are the greatest and ancientest Banks in the World : *Heylin* observes the King of *Spain* was indebted to the Bank of *Genoa*, a Tun and a half of Gold at one time, and eighteen millions at another.

But since their case is not like to be *Irelands*, I shall only insist upon Banks, for the supply of the want of Money, which may properly be called a Land, or dry Bank, yet not wholly without Money ; but like some Merchants, who with a small Stock, and large Credit, will drive a great Trade.

This sort of *Bank* must be founded upon undoubted visible Credit, that all persons who have Money to spare, may covet to lodge it there, rather than in any other place, having the knowledge of the *Solvent Capital* for their security ; and the great Credit upon which the whole success of their Bank depends, it being with them as with some Merchants that are not so much concerned, to have twenty Bonds sued as one Bill of Exchange protested.

From whence it is, the Rich in *Holland* are as glad to get their Money secur'd in *Banks*, or *Cantors*, as the Poor are to get their Children receiv'd into the Hospitals : which our observing Countreyman, Sir *William Temple* * hath not omitted in his Observations : *Whosoever is admitted to bring in his Money, takes it for a great favour; and when they pay off any part of the Principal, those it belongs unto, receive it with tears.*

• 229.

Nor will what is proposed be found difficult for persons in *Ireland*, of very obscure Capitals, might obtain credit both at home and abroad, for treble the Goods they take up; and how much more then may be done on the Credit of such a *Bank*, especially when we consider how many of our single *Bankers*, or *Exchangers* have fail'd within these few years, to the ruine of some, and weakening the Estates of others to this Kingdom, damage upwards of 50000 l. besides the scandal it hath brought on the credit of the Countrey, that no man knows who to trust, or where to lodge Money with security; these Bankrupts being as promising hopeful men as most they have left behind them. But since there is no security in *Ireland* can be so solvent, and satisfactory as Land-Security, other Stocks, though never so great, may be subject to decay, and the Creditor not discern it, as hath been too evident in some of the most creditable Companies, and chief *Bankers* in *London*: Yet a Land-security may be so settled by Law, as it cannot be weakned, in that it will not be in the power of the Bankers, in any case to alienate or incumber their Title in those Lands, otherwise than by Bank-credit, since all are personally and equally concerned therein. As for Example :

Suppose *Dublin* being the chief Seat of the grand *Bank*, and twenty persons shall secure to each other Lands of 200 Pounds *per. ann.* by Feofiment, or Statute-staple, in trust on Defeasance for Bank-security; if any former Settlements, or Statutes be, they will soon be discerned, and there can be no colla-

collateral Incumbrance on that Security ; this will be a Security to a Bank of 4000 Pounds *per. ann.* Lands, being worth twelve years purchase, within ten miles of the City, which will raise a Bank-Security of 48 thousand Pounds.

And that no place or person might be depriv'd of the benefit hereof, every chief Port may likewise have their Banks, as Branches or Members of the *Principal Bank*, and take into their Company the neer adjacent places, and to hold a weekly correspondence with each other, and credit each others Bills, or Bank-tickets. Nor will such Banks restrain, or confine any man from the freedom of Trade ; for though none have the benefit of the Bank-credit, that hath not a Bank-security, yet shall they have liberty, if they desire it, to trade in Company with the Bankers, and have equal profit with them, proportionably to their respective Adventures ; and at the end of every voyage, liberty to withdraw or continue their Stocks, as they shall see cause, and chuse the place they will adventure unto, and the Commodities they will export, or import, or else left to trade by themselves, as they please : by which also all persons that either want knowledge in Trade, or scruple Usury, &c. may employ their Stocks, be they great or small, upon equal terms, with the Bankers, allowing only for Factorage, or provision towards the maintenance of the charge : And so in *Holland*, there is hardly a servant in a Merchants Family, but have their small Adventure in their Masters, by which way of Trade the *States of Holland* and *Venice* raised themselves

from poor Fisherinen, to the height and wealth they now are in : As I shall shew in my Treatise of Traffick, the great Trade which the World now flourisheth in, is but of yesterday : *Holland* and *England* were as low in Trade as *Ireland* is now, 100 years ago the *East* and *West-Indies* were unknown to them ; and although the *Spaniard* and *Portuguese* made a discovery of the *East-Indies*, Anno 1417. yet all the Trade we read of, were some *Negroes*, of which they sent the Pope a Present; for which, he in requital, gives them all they could discover in those *Indies*, which King *John* the 1st gives his Son, who discovered the Coast 100 leagues beyond *Cape de Verde*, and then farm'd to *Gomer*, on condition he should every year discover 100 leagues more of the Coast ; and in the year 1460. erected their first Fort in the Isle of *Arguin*, and named it *Mina*, from the plenty of Gold that Countrey afforded ; but inconsiderable was their Trade for neer 100 years after, until the King and State espoused the Trade of the *Indies* on the publick account †.

^{† Man-}
deslos Tra-
vels, pag.

213.

Then the *Dutch* in the year 1595. having had some of their Natives employed in the *Spanish Indian* Fleets, inspected the Trade so far, as to report the advantage thereof to their Countreymen, upon which they sent three Ships, and so continued a small Trade on particular Merchants Adventurers to no great profit, until Anno 1662. the States observing the many different interests and humours of several particular Adventurers, would hazard the ruine of that hopeful Trade ; to prevent which, sent for

for the Merchants, and prevail'd with them to incorporate under the States Conduit for 21 years, the Prince of Orange to be Governour *. Since which, the Dutch East-Indian Trade hath flourisht to a prodigy.

* *Man-
deslos Tra-
vels*, l. 3.
p. 230.

The Constitution of this Dutch East-India Company is said to have in Bank six hundred thousand Pounds Sterl. of which *Amsterdam* hath one moiety, *Middleborough* a fourth part, *Roterdam*, *Delph*, *Horn*, and *Enchusen*, each a sixth part; nor is there hardly a Nobleman, or Burgher in the Countrey, but hath some Stock in this Bank.

For the Government of this Trade, and the Interest of the Associates, they ordain a certain number of Administrators, of which *Amsterdam* chooseth twenty, *Middleborough* twelve, and each of the other Towns seven, and when any of these dye, the Chamber of the place names three, out of which the States General, or the Magistrates of the Town chooseth one; from which number, at the equipping of every Fleet for a Voyage, they elect a lesser number, to contrive and order the whole transaction of that Voyage: *Amsterdam* chooseth eight, *Delph* and *Roterdam* two, *Middleborough* four, *Horn* and *Enchusen* two; and by this method they have managed the affairs of this Company about eighty years, and thereby are become the greatest Merchants in the World, and have obtained the Sovereignty over several Countreys in the East-India, and likewise secured to themselves a great part of the Portugals Trade in the Countreys of *Siam*, *Petam*, *Jeta*, *Beretan*, the Islands of *Amboyna*: be-

sides, this great Company, they manage a great Trade throughout the World, partly by single persons, but most by lesser Associations, whereby the common Interest of Trade is become the proper Interest of every particular person in the Countrey, their greatest Statesmen being their chiefest Merchants; so that there is no prejudice to any part of Trade, but all are equally interested and concern'd for relief; whereas in a scattered confused Trade, every man contrives his private profit, though the general Interest of Trade be ruined thereby. Much the same methods are observed by *Venice, Lisbon, &c.* and something like them by the *East-India, Levant, African, Eastland, &c.* Companies in *London*.

Nor will the Bankers be without their profit; for each man will enjoy the Rents and Profits of his own Lands, until the *Bank* fail with any of its Creditors, and then they extend what part of the Land they like, till paid, and the Proprietor must seek his remedy from the *Bank*; for all their Tickets must bear the force of Bonds of the Staple against the whole *Bank*. Besides, the *Bank* enjoys the profit of the Interest paid for their Money, or Tickets, not exceeding one moyety of the current Interest of the Kingdom for their Tickets.

They will also enjoy the profit of Exchange, as likewise the profit of their Trade, which will be equal to others, at least; and the more profitable, in regard they will be enabled to trade in their own Ships, and on their own Credit, and buy at the

the best hand, and reserve their Goods for the best Market, without being streighten'd for Stock, or Credit ; and therewith likewise they will merit the favour of their Prince, the love of their Countrey, and increase the publick Revenue and Trade of the Countrey, employing and providing for the relief of the Poor.

In order whereunto, his Majesties Royal Stamp is requisite to secure them against all clamour or attempts on their Credit ; for it is not the greatest Credit they can attain unto, by their great Capital Prudence, or Honesty, that can preserve them, if they are not esteemed the darling of their Prince, and that he will refuse, upon any occasion, to make use of their *Bank* to the weakening its Security.

An Instance of which, we have of *Francis the First*, who ruined as well as raised the *Bank of Lions*, by dying so vastly in its Debt, that though all *Italy*, *Germany*, *France*, &c. tumbled in their Money for his life, yet they scrabbled it out as fast at his death.

For this reason part of the Oath of the Duke of *Venice* is, that neither Himself, nor any of his Ministers of State, upon any occasion or pretence whatsoever, shall at any time, nor on any occasion, meddle with the *Bank*; and so great value hath the Great *Mogull* for the *Bank of Agria*, that He stiles Himself Protector of it; nor would the States of *Holland* have been so easily prevailed with, to exclude the Prince of *Orange* from future Command, contrary to

to the desires of the other States, in their Treaty of Peace with *England*, 1654. had they not retained a deep resentment of his Fathers menace put upon the Bank at *Amsterdam* about two years before, nor can his Majesty manifest his Grace and Favour more than in supporting so Sovereign and universal remedy against all the pecuniary and mercantile maladies of this impoverished Kingdom ; by which the Poor will be employed, the Rich supplied, and the Countrey planted, and civilized.

This Bank-credit will lower Interest ; for when its Bills and Tickets shall be as acceptable in payment either for Goods, or Debts ; and with less trouble and hazard transferred from one to another, than the best Money current : few will give ten *per cent.* for Money, when they can have Bank-credit for half that rate, which will also necessitate the Usurer either to purchase Land, and thereby raise the rate of it, or otherwise employ his Money in the Bank, or some other Trade ; who now preys upon the necessities of all persons, those of the best Quality not excluded, who cannot on their single Bond or Mortgage of Land raise Money without double Bonds-men, and they must be also Citizens, with a Warrant of Attorney for Judgment, besides the charge of procuration, &c. and Interest demanded before-hand, or half yearly, which is the highest Interest upon Interest, whereby the best landed, and most ingenious persons in the Kingdom are many times distressed, and are enslaved to the most gripping Usuries which this Bank-credit will prevent, as also lower the Interest.

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This *Bank-Credit* will lower Exchange to foreign parts, by increasing Traffick, and thereby altering the Balance of Trade, as is shewn in that Chapter, and remove all occasions of Exchange for Money at home; for Bank-Bills of 500*l.* will not weigh one ounce, but be safely conveyed from place to place by Post, or otherwise, without danger of robbing: for the Bank-method of paying their Bills must secure against all counterfeiting, or mis-applications; so that whosoever shall rob, or otherwise obtain Bills surreptitiously, can make no use of them: which method of safety being only the concern of the Bank, and not of the Creditors, I shall forbear to publish it.

By this *Bank* our Manufacturies will be propagated, this being the proper means for it, and in which we are now defective, which will hereby be provided against: For when there are Merchants at *Dublin* as there are at *London*, to buy with ready Money, the Manufactures of the Countrey will abound, for we neither want Materials, nor Artists, only Markets, which will be the main busines of this *Bank* to contrive; and having Shipping and Stock of their own, their Interest will prompt them unto it, since they can neither traffick into the *Levant*, nor *Baltick-Seas*, the two chief places for the Merchants of *Ireland* to inlarge their Trade unto, without woollen and worsted Manufacture, which now when made, cannot be disposed of.

The abuses in our woollen and worsted Manufactures, by which their value and credit is impaired, will be rectified; for they will not buy a piece but what

what is searched, and tried by persons of their own appointment, and place their own Seales as well as the Makers, upon every piece, which will bring our Manufacturies into credit in foreign Markets; and the like they will do for Leather, Butter, Tallow, Flesh, Fish, &c. the want of which is the ruine of the foreign Trade of *Ireland*, which is now under so ill repute beyond Sea, that *Irish* Goods, and Nought, are terms convertible.

Besides, in whatsoever they shall observe the Artists of *Ireland* defective, they can easily procure a supply, which will also put life into the Ingenious, and Industrious, when they can have *Bank*-credit for their Ware at any time, which will inable a poor Clothier, &c. with twenty Pound Stock, to do more than now with an hundred Pound, not knowing now what to do with Goods when made, which will employ the Poor, and by their labour double the value of Lands, and fill the Countrey with Money; as is shewed in the Chapter of Manufacture.

By which the Peace and Safety, as well as the Wealth of *Ireland*, will be increased; for whilst the poorer sort of people have nothing but a miserable life to lose, the Boggs and Rodes will be pestered with *Tories*; want increaseth discontent, and that puts men upon desperate ways for relief, which this *Bank* will prevent; for no man need to have in his House, or travel on the Rode with other than small Sums of that debast Money described in the Chapter of Coins, and yet have five hundred or a thousand Pounds worth of *Bank*-Tickets; which,

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was observed, would not be worth a Peny to the unlawful Possessor, and yet be as good as so much Silver or Gold current in their Houses, and much safer than other Specialties ; which, if lost, he is in danger of losing his Money, but not so in this case, his Right appearing in the *Bank-Books* : And as it will prevent Robberies, so also discourage Rebellions, since the Money passing current, is of small intrinsick value to them.

Besides, these *Banks* are the only means to rescue our Trade out of the Hands of Foreigners, and will wear out foreign Stocks, by which the greatest part of our foreign Traffick is now driven, to the enriching foreign Merchants, and beggering of our own : Foreigners having Money at low Interest, and gaining by their Exchange, they are able to undersell us in foreign Parts ; so that our Merchants choose rather to be their Factors, than trade with their own Stocks ; which is the reason we have so few wealthy Merchants, and those we have, after they have gained Estates by Trade, instead of increasing their Traffick, purchase Lands, and decline Trade.

This *Bank* will also be a means to fill the Kingdom with Shipping to manage the Trade thereof, which is at present the great gain of Foreigners ; which will hereby redound to the benefit of this Kingdom, as in the Chapter of Shipping.

And hereby also we shall be capable of improving our Fishing upon the *Irish Coast* to the utmost : The great advantage of which, you may read in the Chapter of Fishing.

Nor

Nor will it be difficult to satisfie persons, that this *Bank*-credit of paying or receiving Money will be as ready, and as safe as the ordinary way of paying and receiving Money in *Specia*, since with much ease these Bills may be transferred from one person to another; and the trouble and labour of telling, weighing, and judging of the goodness or badness of Coins, and danger of miscounting hereby prevented.

In order whereunto, every person that either receives or pays Money in *Bank*, hath his account in the *Bank book*, and at the desire of the Creditor, his Stock in *Bank*, either in part, or in whole, is transferred to the account of such other persons as himself shall assign. As for example; A Clothier sells unto a Merchant or Draper an 100*l.* worth of Cloth, the buyer having Credit in *Bank*, assigns 100*l.* to the Seller; the Book-keeper makes the Merchant Debtor, and gives the Clothier credit for so much again. The Clothier being indebted in whole, or in part of the said sum to the Woollman, the Clothier is made Debtor, and the Woollman Creditor: The Woollman being a Farmer, &c. owes the like sum to his Landlord for Rent, the Woollman is made Debtor, and his Landlord Creditor; the Landlord is indebted, or hath occasion to buy Goods in Town; the Landlord is made Debtor, and the said person is Creditor. If the persons to whom the Landlord was indebted be Retailers, that have occasion to buy Goods of the Merchant that first assigned in *Bank*, the Retailers have Goods, and the Account cleared without receiving or

or paying a peny of Money. The which is also practicable in most other cases, and all these Assignments have the security of a *Bond* of the Staple, whereby not only the hazard and trouble of Money, (as before) but the hazard of disappointment, and the charge and delay of Law-suits is wholly prevented, and this is not only as to intire sums, but the 100*l.* may be as easily assigned to 20 persons with a little more trouble in writing, and will not only be useful in this case of Traffick, and prevent the hazard and charge many Merchants now undergo, by the ignorance or unfaithfulness of their Casheers, but also accommodate other persons that have occasion to pay or receive Money.

As for example ; A Gentleman having an Estate in several parts of the Kingdom, far distant from his dwelling, may order his Rents to be paid in the next adjacent *Bank*; and being there lodged, he may transmit it to any other *Bank* in the Kingdom, and then assign a Debtor or other person to receive it : And this sort of payment being all visible in *Bank*, will be a more certain Discharge or Acquittance than any other that can be given, and will wear all other Specialties much out of use, and prompt all men to choose *Bank-Security* before any other, where he may have his Money on Rebate at any time, before it's due.

Besides, this *Bank-credit* will be a conveniency, and great encouragement to young Merchants, who may be both ingenious, and industrious; yet their small Stocks being lodged in Goods, which they cannot dispose, by reason the Market is cloyed, or other:

other accidents ; whereas upon the security of these Goods, they may have Credit in *Bank* to keep up their Trade, and pay off such Debts out of the product of such Goods, as they can dispose of them to their best advantage.

Or, suppose a Clothier, Tanner, or Chandler, &c. have disbursed their Stocks, in providing Cloath, Leather, or Tallow, and Markets fail at the season expected ; the charge of Ware-Houses, and Servants, &c. lye upon them, though they have no free Stock to keep them at work, are thereby eaten up ; but if they have this *Bank* to come unto, proportionable to the quantity of their Commodities, they are supplyed with Money, or Credit, to go on chearfully in their Callings.

Or it may happen, an honest and sufficient Man may be indebted upon a Statute or Judgment, and cannot raise the Money by the time limited, nor the Creditors occasions for his Money suffer him to forbear it, the Credit of one is preserved, and the Want of the other supplyed, without extremity of charge, and damage to either ; since the *Bank*, upon Security, answers the Money.

And besides the general benefit to the Kingdom by increasing Trade and Commerce, there will not be a person of the highest, or lowest Rank, but will find a conveniency and benefit by the *Bank*. A Nobleman of 10000*l. per ann.* may have occasion for 500, or 1000*l.* more or less, some short time before his Rent come in ; but without Mortgaging part of his Estate, and paying six months Interest, no man will trouble himself to pay and receive Money,

Money, whereas if himself or any friend of his have Credit in Bank he is supply'd for what weeks or days he pleases.

And so a poor man, ingenious and industrious, could put himself into a way to maintain his Family comfortably, could he procure but a small Sum of Money; if he goes to Pawn-brokers, it is ordinary with them to demand Six pence or Four pence a week for every Pound, which for a year is more than the Principal; whereas by the Bank Lumber he may be supplied (if not *gratis*, yet) at less than legal Interest; and by this the *Jews* and *Dutch* preserve themselves from Beggers; the feeblest amongst them, if not bed-rid, are put into a capacity to get their livelihoods, and for others Hospitals are provided.

Therefore let not this Bank Traffique be rejected, as an unpracticable notion; for it is beyond contradiction, that *England, &c.* have raised themselves from little to great Trade thereby, and so may *Ireland*, if not wanting to it self.

This expedient of *Banks and Company-trade* were the first foundation of the great Traffique of other Countries, flourishing in Trade, as *Venice, Florence, Belgia, &c.* where the very Constitutions of their Government are form'd principally for the promotion of *Trade*, their Princes and Nobles being their chief Merchants, and their Senates Councils of Trade.

And the Hans-Towns of *Germany* raised their Trade by this means, who were the first Corporation of Trade we read of, above sixty Towns

and Cities united their Stocks and Policies, of which *Lubeck*, *Brumswick*, *Danzick* and *Cullen* were the chief places of their Residence, and so great was their Trade and Credit under that Constitution, that all Princes granted them Priviledges, and they kept their Courts by their Deputies, and Councils, at *Bergen*, *Noragrade*, *Antwerpe* and *London*, where King *Henry 3.* granted them great Priviledges, and the *Still-yards* for their residence, which they enjoyed near 300 years; and managed their Trade by an Alderman and Council, &c. called the *Yeild of the Hans*, ingrossed the Trade of *England* for Grain, Cables, Malt, Pitch, Tar, &c. until, by their example, each Country learnt the knowledge of Trade themselves, and dismissed them.

And in the year 1551. being the 5. of *Edw. 6.* upon complaint of the *English* Merchants, their priviledges were seised into the Kings Hands, and the Trade ever since enjoyed by the Merchants of *London*, to the great enriching of that famous City.

And the best president I can lay before *Ireland* is *England*, who untill the Reign of *Hen. 3.* was as confused, and consequently as low in Trade, as *Ireland* is now, but hath been especially for these last 140 years, the most flourishing Kingdom in Trade in the world; and they must commence the rise and growth of their Trade from their beginning to trade by *united Stocks* and *Policies*, for which a Patent was first obtained by the Merchant Staplers from *Edw. 3.* from which time we find our Statute Books

Books crowded with excellent Laws for the encouraging and regulating Trade, which yet did not arrive to its height, and splendor, until about the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, who did not only confirm what was done by her Predecessors, but augmented and greatly enlarged the Priviledges of that *ancient Company of Staplers*, and confirmed the Charter of the *Muscovy Company*, newly granted by *Philip and Mary*, and ordained in her time three new Corporations for Trade, which enlarged the Trade of *England* abundantly, viz. the *East-India*, the *Levant* and *Eastland Companies*, the Priviledges of all which have been confirmed and enlarged, with great respect, by all her Successors in Parliament; and His Majesty that now is hath added the *African and Canary Companies*; that if we had no other Argument, to prove united Stocks, and Policies in Trade, the great if not the only means to promote and increase Traffique and Commerce; the Examples of so many prudent Princes and States, and the Experience of the Kings and Parliaments of *England* for this 300 years past might serve.

But I shall demonstrate by good reason, and unquestionable authority, when opposed, that this one expedient shall remove all the considerable impediments of Trade, in a short time, *dam up the current of much of our Expence upon Foreign Growth, shall reduce our confused Trade to a method, improve the native Growth of the Country to its height, as to Value at home, and Credit abroad, shall rescue our Trade managed by foreign Stocks into our own hands,*

shall increase His Majesties Revenue, and enable his Subjects of Ireland to farm it upon terms more to the Kings profit and conveniency, and the Kingdoms benefit and content, and to advance considerable Sums upon the Security of any Branch of His Majesties Revenue, when his Affairs shall require it.

And I will further undertake to demonstrate, that all other Expedients without this shall never attain these Ends ; let a Parliament pass all the Statutes of *England* for the incouragement of Trade in *Ireland*, it shall signify no more than good Laws without Courts of Justice to execute them ; for though Interest prompts people to Industry, yet it neither qualifies nor governs them in right methods to attain their ends : A stragling Trade managed by particular persons, each striving to advance his private Interest, though to the ruine of the Trade in general, and obstructing it in other particulars, can no more make a Country flourish in Trade, than a stragling Army without Discipline and Order can preserve its peace.

But designing brevity, I shall only assert, that *Ireland* is now much more able to erect & govern such a Trade, than *England* was about 300 years ago, when *Ed. 1.* incourag'd it, and *Ed. 3.* established by Charter the Company of *Staplers*, or *Merchant Adventurers*, which was the *Mother Company* of *England*, and all it enjoy'd until *Philip and Mary* erected the *Muscovy Company*, yet that one *Company* removed the *Staple* from foreign parts to our own ports, and soon after the *Clothing Trade* from *Flanders*, whereby the Growth of *England*, especially the *Wools* were

were improved to 5 and 7, and in some cases (after the Worsted-trade of Stuffs and Stockings was attained) to ten times its value.

I am not unsensible that this Work will meet with opposition from some particular persons, whose private Interest may seem to be invaded by it; for so did that ancient and beneficial Company of Staplers in *England*, as a Monopoly intrenching upon the Liberty of the Subject, to the Parliaments in *Hen. 4.* *Hen. 7.* *Edw. 6.* and *Queen Maries* time, yet all parties being heard, those Complaints were quash'd, and the Priviledges of the Companies ratified and enlarged.

Yet again in *Queen Elizabeths* time, the importunity of the Clothiers prevailed against the Company but after a short tryal, the Clothing Countries were ruined, to that extremity, that in the 29th. of *Elizabeth* the Lords of the Council sent for the members of the Company, and desired them to reassume their Priviledges, and cheerfully proceed in their Trade, and they should receive all possible countenance and assistance.

So in the Reign of King *James*, Alderman *Cocken of London, &c.* prevailed to have the Company dissolv'd, but after two years confusion, Trade so miserably languished, that the King published his Proclamation, *Anno 1617.* for the Restoration of the Company to its ancient Priviledges.

In like manner King *Charles the first* observing the decay of Trade, from the confusion intruding Interlopers brought upon it, publisch his Proclamation Dec. 7. 1634. *Whereas we have taken into our*

Princely consideration, the manifold Benifits that redound to this Kingdom, &c. and finding how much Government and Order will conduce to the increase and advancement of the same; We have thought fit, with the Advice of our Privy Council, to declare our Royal Pleasure herein, &c. and then positively and largely prohibits any to intrude upon the Companies Priviledge, upon pain of his high Displeasure, and of such Punishments as the Court of Star-Chamber, whom We especially charge with the Execution of our Royal Pleasure herein, shall think fit, to inflict, for such Contempts. After this, the 11th. of March 1643. both Houses past an Ordinance, intituled, *For the Upholding of the Government of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers of England, &c.* near to the same effect as His Majesties Proclamation before recited.

And as Corporation Traffique hath procured all the flourishing Trade *England* now enjoys, so the *Portugals*, *Dutch*, &c. have thereby altered the whole course of Trade that *Venice* had with *India*, *Arabia* and *Persia*; *Venice*, being the ancient Mart for the Commodities of those Countries, now buy of us; so the *English Levant Company* hath wrested the *India* Trade from the *Turks*, and now sell where *Venice* used to buy. And that which gives *England* and *Ireland* the advantage in Traffique is, the staple Commodities they sell necessary for Life; as *Flesh*, *Fish*, &c. for the Belly, *Cloth*, *Stuff*s, &c. for the Back; that in most Countries *England* trades with, they wear *Englands Woollen Livery*, eat in *English Pewter*, *Seasons* and

and Sauce with *Englands Indian Spices*, shod with English Leather; there is no Clothing in *Spain* esteemed like the English Bayse and Stuffs, nor no Food exceeds the English Herring and Pilcher: *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and all those cold Northeast Countries within the *Sound*, to the bottom of the *Baltick*, keep themselves warm by English woollen Cloth; and all this obtained by vertue of *Englands* Trade by united Stoks and Policy. For in little above 100 years *Europe* was so far from trading with the *East* and *West Indies*, the *West* were unheard of, as I shew in my Treatise of Traffique; and the *East* unknown otherwise than by report to our Mariners and Merchants: *Italian* and *Spanish* Merchants were esteemed great Adventurers, until the *Turkie* and *East India* Companies were incorporated by Queen *Elizabeth*, who God made instrumental, not only to reform Religion, but to regulate and advance Trade: *Englands* and *Hollands* true Religion and potent Trade came together, God grant they never go together, it is worthy our obseruation, how the mighty flourishing Monarchy of *Spain*, since *Charles* the 5. and his Son *Philip* the 2. hath dwindled away, and decayed in Fame and Potency since they erected their barbarous Inquisition, which banished their Trade and Wealth to *England* and *Holland*; that *Antwerpe* and *Sevils* Ebb tide in Trade hath made it full Sea at *London* and *Amsterdam*; and as *England* and *Holland* hath gained their Trade and Wealth by being Receptacles and Shelters of persecuted Protestant; so will the contrary lose it: the *Italians* have a proverb, *He that would*

improve Italy must destroy Milan, that is, disperse the multitude of Artists there settled to the other Cities that want them, which nothing so naturally effects, as Persecution. Let them beware they lose it not by persecuting them, and driving them away. The vast Trade Spain had ingrossed both in the *East* and *West Indies*, and in *Africa* they might yet have enjoyed, had not cruel *de Alva*, by his inhuman severities, forced the *Dutch* to cast off the *Spanish* iron Yoke, and defend their Liberties; whereby, as Sir *William Temple* observes, by the great multitudes of people crowded together in a narrow compass of Land, they were necessitated to improve their Industry at Sea; and after the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, who were then the Subjects of *Spain*, had entirely enjoyed the enriching Trade of the *East Indies*, &c. as before, for almost one hundred years, viz. from *Anno* 1498. until 1595. the *Dutch* sent a Fleet from *Amsterdam*; and then in 1600. the *English* sent four Ships, viz. the *Affection*, the *Dragon*, the *Hector* and *Susan*, under the Command of Captain *Lancaster*, since which, by the prudent Government of that Company, hath equalized the *Portugues* and *Dutch*, having erected Plantations and Factories at *Ormus*, &c. in *Persia*, at *Agria*, *Cambasian*, *Surat*, &c. in the *Moguls Country* at *Mun*, *Salupan*, *Ar-magon*, *Pecana*, *Siam*, on the Coast of *Chormandel* the Isles of *Sumatra*, *Bantam*, &c. that now they furnish *Italy* and *Turkie* with all those *Indian* Commodities, which about fifty years ago they bought there, to the ruine of the Trade of *Syria* and

and Egypt, &c. who have now only an Inland Trade by Caravans from Aleppo, Damasco and Mecha, &c. And out of the Ashes of their *Barbary* Company, ruined by the Civil Wars of Fez, arose the *Levant* or *Turkie*, the most flourishing and beneficial, Company now in *England*, incorporated by King *James*.

I do but hint these things here to evidence the undoubted advantage of Company Trade, insisting largely upon them in my Treatise of Traffique, in the Chapter of Discoveries of new Trades.

And that this way of Corporation-Trade has not only greatly enlarged Trade, but enriched the places of its Residence, we have manifold instances; the ancient Company of Merchant-Adventurers, now called the *Hamborough* Company, erected by *Edward* the first, in 1296. was courted by the Duke of *Brabant*, to make their Residence at *Antwerpe*, where they first settled the *English* Staple, and had granted to them great Priviledges, and made the City flourish in Trade; which being observed by that inspectious Prince *Edward* the third, he, to bring the Trade to his own Ports, prohibited the Transportation of Wools, and granted great encouragement to *Dutch* Weavers to set up their Craft in *England*, and soon after prohibited all foreign Cloth from being transported into the Realm, confirmed by *Edward* the Fourth, who settled their Priviledges by Charter in the year 1406. which hath been confirmed and enlarged by all his Successors.

Queen

Queen Elizabeth, for the better vending their Cloths, when their Quantity exceeded home Markets, gave them power under the Great Seal to treat with foreign Princes and States for places to settle the Residence of their Factors, and Stores; upon which all the Princes and States in *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Germany* strove who should enjoy them; and wherefover they removed, they drew a vast Trade after them: their present Residence is at *Dortrech* for the *Netherlands*, and *Hamborough* for *Germany*, where the chief Court of their Fellowship now resides: they transport all sorts of Cloths dressed and dyed, Lead, Tin, Oyl, Stockens, Hats, *Spaniſh* Fruits, and Wines; and make their returns in Linnings, *Rhenish* Wines, Mather, Hops, Sope, Wire, Copper, Brabs, Iron, Steel, Quick-silver, Gunpowder, Flax, Hemp, Allom, Wax, &c. This Company hath power, by their Charter, yearly to elect a Governour, Deputy Governour, and Assistants, and to settle their Residents & Courts in any parts beyond Sea, and several places in *England*, as *London* *York*, *Hull*, *Newcastle*, &c. with power of making Acts and Ordinances (so as they are not repugnant to the Law of *England*) for the better Government of their Trade, likewise power to hear and decide Causes, to implead, fine and punish Offenders.

This grew to be the most flourishing Company for Trade in the world, until *Philip* and *Mary* erected the *Muscovy* Company, which soon wrested a great part of their Trade from them, which were at first called the Corporation for Discovery of new Trades,

Trades, (a Design that would well sute with the present state of *Ireland*) whose great Priviledges were confirmed and enlarged, as before, by Queen Elizabeth, much after the method of the other, and their Trade much the same: and after this studious Princeſs, for the Improvement of the Trade and Wealth of her Country, added to these, ſhe found the three other Companies beforementioned, viz. the *Levant* or *Turkie* Company, which made the firſt Discovery of that vast Trade, ſince driven in the Signorie of *Venice*, and the Dominions of the *Grand Seignior*; and thereby obſerved the vast Trade betwixt *Aleppo* and other *Levant* Ports with the *East Indies*, managed by Land carriage, which encouraged them to enquire into a more cheap and gainful way to obtain *East India* Commodities, at firſt Hand.

And that produc'd that moſt famous Country-inriching Company, called the *East India* Company, who obtain'd a Charter for great Priviledges from the Queen, and hath managed their Trade by a joint Stock, reported to be 600000 l. whereby they have builte and maintained a gallnt Fleet of ſtately Ships for War as well as Burthen, employed multitudes of people in their Plantations, Ships and Factories, to the great Honour and Wealth of their Country.

And after this, in the 21. year of the Reign of that moſt famous Queen, that is, in the year 1579. did ſhe incorporate the *Eastland* Company, and endow them with great Priviledges and Immunities, to trade in *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Prufia* and

and Pomerland, from the River *Odera* Eastward.

And it is worth observing how small beginnings in Trade beget great increase; Trade, like that Grain of Mustard-seed our Saviour speaks of, being cast into the ground, grows up to a great tree, that the Fowls of the air may lodge in the Branches of it; and it is also observable, if foreign Traffique did live, yet it never flourished in this part of the world, until it was managed by united Stocks and Policies, as in the forementioned instances in our own Country, besides what is of the same kind amongst all our Neighbours flourishing in Trade.

And as in these many examples from past times evidence that they esteemed this way of Traffique the only way to increase Trade, so is their Wisdom approv'd and confirm'd by the prudent in this age, His Majesty that now is hath set to his Seal, that Corporation-trade is the strength of foreign Traffique, by his not only confirming what his Royal Predecessors before did, but also by his adding the *African* and *Canary* Companies; the first not only endowed with priviledge, that sounds like Prince-ly Prerogatives; as power of Peace and War, raising Forts, building and equipping Ships of War, &c. to appoint Governors, to constitute Laws, &c. and dignified with the title of the *Royal Company*; and well they may, when *His Royal Highness* hath bore Office, and the chief Princes and Nobles of *England* enrolled Members, as Prince *Rupert*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Peterborough*, *St. Albans*, *Sandwich*, *Bath*, *Arlington*, *Shaftesbury*, &c. and the Territories of this Royal Company is

is from *Sally in South Barbary* to *Cape de Bona Esperanza*, a Princely Dominion. And having thus briefly hinted, how the Wisdom and Experience of past ages, and many Nations have set to their Seals, to the rationality & peculiar advantage to this way of improving Trade by united Stocks & Policies. I shall hint some inconveniences attending its omission.

First, the want of settled Correspondency for want of Intelligence is the ruine of Trade; for when men grope out a Trade, as blind folk do their way, they stumble at many a stone, and run their heads against many posts which light would prevent.

And few single persons, at least in *Ireland*, are able to carry on such a Trade as will maintain Servants, or Factors, to inform them how the Rates of Goods rule at the several parts they trade with, but must depend upon the Advice of such persons upon the place, whose Interest it is to encourage their Principles to confine to them, let Goods turn to Profit or Loss, they will deduct their Provision, &c. which contracts much perplexity and confusion in Trade; whereas Trade in Company, managed with united Stocks, prevents them, being able to bear the charge of able Factors in the Country they trade unto; and able to bear a considerable loss, which would ruine a particular person, able to keep their Goods when Markets are low, till they rise, able to ingross the Bulk of a Commodity when brought low by unadvised clogging of Markets, and thereby raise Rates; for by their well governed Correspondency they are inform'd not only what Rates Goods go at, but

but what quantity of them are in the Stores, at each foreign port, and what time they will probably take for consumption, what kind of Vintage or Crops is in the Countries producing them, &c. and by these views can discourage their increase at home, until their Markets mend abroad, that they may make their Commodities pay Interest for their lying; and without these and the like expedients, no man can secure a Trade to turn to any certain Account; but as a meer Lottery, some Voyage brings a prize, and some a blank; whereby men of small Stocks are oft times undone, and the best perplex'd and discouraged.

Secondly, This Trade in Company with a considerable united Stock, will preserve a Trade from ruine by Interlopers, that will be nibbling at Traf-fique they understand not; as Pedlars at Land, so these at Sea, perplex and ruine the Trade of skilful Merchant, and do themselves no good: for, as Pedlers may undersell the ablest Shopkeepers in some small Wares, by living after a beggerly vagrant way, paying no Rents, nor bearing no charge in their Country, and maintaining themselvs by conditioning where they sell small Markets to have Victuals, &c. into the bargain; so these Sea-pedlers much after the same manner maintain themselves, and thereby are able to undersell the Merchants, who have great Families to maintain at home, besides chargeable Factors abroad, great Duties to pay to the King, chargeable Offices to bear in their Cities, &c. and if the Merchants shall have no more priviledge from the State than the Inter-

Interloper, he will be discouraged, &c. and the Trade of the Country ruined from these and the like inconveniences, &c. which I have observed to attend the Trade of *Ireland*, by the small Trade I have driven there my self.

1. In the Trade of Wools, one of the chief Commodities of the Country, greatly damnified, their Wools sometimes vended at half their value, near to the undoing of the Sheep-master, &c.

Proceeding principally from the abuse of Trade by Interlopers: for, although Wools must rise and fall with the Manufactures of *England*, where they are chiefly vended, yet as the principle Clothiers of *England* will store up their Cloths and Stuffs when Markets fail, until they can sell them to profit; so should the principle Sheep-masters reserve their Wools, and the Wool-Merchants store up poor mens small parcels until Trade mend, and then not tumble over great quantities, to clog and lower Markets; but to feed Markets as they observe their Trade requires; by which means the Wools of *Ireland* were kept up to a competent Rate for 7 years together by my self, as both the Sheep-masters and Skinners in the Province of *Leinster* and *Connacht* have often owned to me.

2. So for Tallow, and Butter, &c: trading in them becomes a Lottery from the same cause, as my self experienced several times, and particularly in the year 1670. having occasion to buy a considerable quantity, I agreed for several Tuns at 24. and it fell, I bought more at 23. it still fell, to 22. and in some parts of the Kingdom 21. I marvelled at it, my

Intelli-

Intelligence giving no advice that any great quantities were in the Merchants hands, either at *London* or in foreign Markets, but bore a competent rate, only low in the West of *England*; I suspected it only proceeded from our Blind man buff Merchants clogging the Market; I stopt shiping my own, and presently bought up all I could in *Dublin* at price current, and writ to my Correspondents and Factors in all parts of *Ireland*, to do the same upon my account; upon which the Price presently started, and rise to 24 and 25. and so held it that season.

By which Experience in these and several other Commodities, I observed the Trade of *Ireland* was ruined by disorder; and was preservable, and capable of Improvement, if rightly managed by considerable Stocks, either in single hands, conducted by the prudence of an experienced Merchant, or in Company, by a prudent Governor and Court of Assistance, according to the patterns of the aforementioned Companies of *England*, &c.

3. This is the only Expedient to rescue the Government of our Trade out of the hands of foreigners, at whose mercy we are, whether we shall have a high or a low Rate for our Native commodities; for they that command the largest Capital, or Stock of a Kingdom or State, will rule and govern the Trade of it, and set the Rates on all Commodities exported or imported.

Object. *Englands* Trade is divided into Companies, which you have named, as *Hambrough*, *Muscovy*, *Levant*, *East India*, &c. and would you propose

propose all the Trade of *Ireland* to be contained in the circuit of one Company?

Answ. Though the great Trade of *England* and *Holland*, &c. may well bear and fully employ several Companies with joint stock, &c. yet the Trade of *Ireland* will not; *England* began with one Corporation for Trade in *Edw.* the thirds time, and erected no more until *Philip* and *Mary*, who granted their Patent for the *Muscovy* Company, which was upwards of 200 years: for Trades as well as Pastures may be overstock'd, and thereby starved; for no Trade thrives where the Merchant grows not rich, as well as the Country benefited, and as the best of Trades may be made bad by too many of the same Faculty in one City; so the best expedient for Foreign traffique may be rendred unsuccessful by erecting more Corporations than the commerce of the Country will bear: for Traffique like Water runs with the deepest and strongest current, when it is by banks reduc'd to a narrower channel; and when it begins with *Nilus* to overflow its banks it is time enough to increase its channels; as I shew in the Chapter of the Progress of Trade: and from hence it was, after *London* began to gain a further inspection into Foreign traffique, they grew so soon weary of the Yeild of the *Hance*, which from the time of our *Henr. 3.* to *Philip* and *Mary* were not only permitted, but courted and encouraged in their Commerce with us, enjoying great Priviledges and paying small Duties; from which time their Customs were enhanced from one to twenty per Cent. the *Hance* not only complain'd, but clamour'd

aloud, for breach of their ancient Priviledges confirmed unto them by long prescription, from thirteen successive Kings of *England*, the which they pretended to have purchased with their Money : King *Philip* undertook to accommodate the business, but *Queen Mary* dying, and he retiring, nothing was effected ; complaints being afterwards made to *Queen Elizabeth*, she answered, that as she would not innovate any thing, so she would protect them still in the immunities and condition she found them ; hereupon their Navigation and Traffique was suspended a while , which proved very advantagious to the *English* Merchants ; for upon this they tryed what they could do themselves herein ; and their Adventures and Returns proving successful, they took the whole Trade into their own hands.

This so nettled the *Hance*, that they devised all the ways that a discontented people could to draw upon our *Staplers* the ill opinion of other Nations and States ; but that proving of too small a force to stop the current of so strong a Trade as they had got footing into, though they applied themselves to the Emperor, as being a Body incorporated to the Empire, and upon complaint obtained Ambassadors to the *Queen*, to mediate the business, but they returned still *re-infecta* : hereupon the *Queen* caused a Proclamation to be published , that the Merchants of the *Hance* should be treated and used as all other Strangers within her Dominions in point of Commerce, without any mark of distinction ; which they so ill resented, they quit the Country ;

try; and so ended the Yeild of the *Hance*, after 200 years flourishing.

Obj. Is there not a great hazard in this affair to the principle Bankers in the mismanagement of it, either for want of skill, care or fidelity in its ministerial Officers? &c.

Answ. There is no humane affair but is subject to injury; a Prince runs some hazard in the choice of his Counsellors, and a State in the election of their Senators, and since there proceed no Angels from *Adam*, the best of men will be subject to err.

But this constitution of Corporation trade is as capable of a solvant rational security, as is in the power of man to devise; and to that height, we never heard nor read it ever failed any Undertakers these 400 years in *England*, or elsewhere; but on the contrary, as it hath raised many Principalities and States, as is before observed, from poor and low condition to great wealth and potency, so many particular Families hath it raised from low and mean, to worshipful and honourable Ranks; for the method of managing this Society gives so clear and full an inspection into its constant state, that each of its principle Creditors may inform himself at pleasure by the Comptrollers Books, whether its Capital decays or increaseth, and what profit or los the Return of every Ship at the end of her Voyage produceth: besides at every Quarter Assembly the Governours, &c. are to give an account of the whole Transaction since the last Assembly, and themselves receive an account every month of the

proceed of the Officers, and how they observe the Instructions and Institutions of the general Assembly, which are always recorded in the Office.

Then the general Assembly of the original Bankers, &c. at their annual Meetings have the whole transaction of the year past, with its product presented to them fairly ingrossed by the Register, of which as many of them as desire it may have Copies, and at the same Meeting they elect their Governor, his Deputy and Counsel of Assistants for the ensuing year, and regulate what they find deficient in the last years Transactions; and make a new Establishment for the ensuing years Proceed, from which the Governor, &c. must not vary, without first summoning a general Assembly, and proposing the matter to them; at which Assembly the Dividend is to be made of the past years Profit, which every man may either receive, or otherwise have it added to his Capital in Bank, and so increase his Stock there.

So that upon the whole, the Stock in Bank is never out of the owners possession, nor view, but lieth as ready and as visible as his Cash in his own coffer.

And although the original Bankers cannot withdraw their Stock, to the weakening of the grand Capital, yet they may assign it to others, which the Company will be obliged to accept; or otherwise give the same Rate others offer for the Interest; so that a Stock in Bank will not be subject to so much hazard as in a Merchants own hands,

hands, managed by his own Factors or Servants, or in a Gentleman's hand managed by his Steward, &c. in regard few persons are capable of keeping a dayly check upon their private concerns, either in respect of capacity, or time to perform it. Thus having not only proposed the erecting a Corporation, who by united Stocks and Councils will propagate and improve the Trade and Wealth of Ireland, but also strengthened my Proposition with Examples of all Kingdoms and States flourishing in Trade, who have greatly increased their Trade and Wealth thereby, and answered such Objections as I conjectured might arise against it, I shall only speak of its Method, and submit the whole to the consideration of the publick spirited Judicious.

Object. If we were informed at least something of the Method of managing this Bank, it might further give satisfaction.

Answ. The Method for managing this Bank, &c. to be settled by common consent of the original Bankers, according to the Rules of the English or Dutch East India Companies, or such other Method as they shall agree upon.

I. That the Persons to manage this Affair, viz. the Governor, Deputy and Council of Assistants be annually chosen by the original Bankers, who shall be enjoyned to observe such Rules and Methods as shall be given them from time to time, and the said Governor and Deputy, &c. to propose, and the general Assembly to approve of their Register, Treasurer, &c.

2. That the Trade & Commerce of this Society be prescribed by the major part of its Members at their annual Councils, at which time the Governor, &c. are to give an account of their whole Transactions for the time past, and to propose to the general Assembly what they shall think fit to be then considered, for the Proceed of the Company the ensuing year.

3. That a known place be provided near the Exchange, and the Office to be open from nine to twelve in the forenoon, and from three to six in the afternoon, and as business increaseth so the time to be enlarged.

4. That a Bank Lumber be erected, to supply the occasions of the poorer sort with small sums of Money upon Pawns at reasonable rates.

5. That the whole Constitution of the Bank, and Corporation with its Priviledges and Securities, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

6. For the mutual Security not only against each other, but also betwixt the Bank and all persons it shall give or receive Credit from; that they do agree, that all their Bills and Tickets do bear the force of Bonds of the Staple, by prevailing with the City of Dublin, &c. until a Parliament meet: that the Governor of this Society to be still chosen Mayor of the Staple, the profit of all Statutes acknowledge for Debt, not relating to the Bank-trade, to be still entred in the City Book, and paid to the City Treasurer, or whom they shall appoint to receive it; as also all their Entries and Certificates to bear the Credit of a Publick Notary, by swearing

swearing one Clerke of the Office in that capacity, which will strengthen the credit of their Security, and facilitate all their transactions.

Besides, this Affair, upon the Foundation of the Law of the Staple, will give a legal stamp until the Kings Patent be obtained, and a Parliaiment of *Ireland* meet to enact the same. It may be serviceable to both Kingdoms, in executing the Laws against Transporting our *Irish* Wools into Foreign parts, which hath been the bane of the Clothing Trade of *England* as well as *Ireland*; for by the advantage of our *Irish* Wools both *France* and the *Low Countries* have been able to work up their own Wools to the height of our *English* Staple, which otherwise they were not capable of; for as the Wools of *Spain*, and the more southerly parts of *France*, are too tender and fine for strong, thick Cloth, so the Northerly Wools are too coarse and harsh to produce it; but mixing our Wools with either, they produce Cloth of what sort they please; by which advantage the great Trade for Woollen Manufacture of the *Hamborough*, *Eastland* and *Muscovy* Companies are much damnified, who vended the greatest proportion of our Northern course and middle Cloths, &c. *Poland*, *Silesia*, &c. having not only much increased the number of their Sheep, but improved the Staple of their Wools of late years, and encouraged great numbers of the *English* Weavers, &c. to settle amongst them; besides the Prince Elector *Palatine* hath carried over into his Country many thousands of *English* Families, all Artists in the Woollen Manufacture, within these

twenty years : But if the transporting of our Irish Wools could be prevented, it would put a violent check to their progress, for which we have good and severe Laws, only want persons interested to prosecute and execute them; and it would be the interest of this Corporation, to use their utmost diligence therein, both in order to increase their own Manufactures for the supply of their Exportations, and discourage foreign Manufactures to preserve their Market. And as it would be much their Interest, so will they be in a capacity to effect it above any other Judicatures, by the advantage of their Factors and Correspondents in all Ports, who will easily discover all attempts of that kind, especially having the Authority and observing the method of the Staple, which,

1. Limits the Transportation of staple Commodities to certain known publick places, to be bought and sold, as *Newcastle upon Tine*, *Tork*, *Lincolne*, *Norwich*, *Westminster*, *Canterbury*, *Chichester*, *Winchester*, *Exeter* and *Bristol*; in *Ireland*, at *Dublin*, *Waterford*, *Drogheda* and *Cork*; and for *Wales*, *Carmarthen*, where all Wools, Wool Fells, Leather, Led, &c. were to be brought, and weighed at the Kings Beam, and every Sack or Bag of Wool to be sealed by the Mayor of the Staple, &c.

2. As they are by the said Act confined to places for Markets, so to Ports for Shipping; as for *Tork* at *Hull*, *Lincoln* at *Boston*, *Norwich* at *Tarmouth*, *Westminster* at *London*, *Canterbury* at

Chap. I. OF IRELAND.

41

Sandwich, Winchester at Southampton, to be again weighed at the Ports before the Customers ; and an Indenture signed betwixt the Mayor of the Staple and the Customers ; all which , with the Weight and Custom paid, to be express'd in the Cocket at that time ; every Sack of Wool paid six shillings eight pence , two hundred Wool Fells twenty shillings , a Last of Leather thirteen shillings four pence , and every Sow of Lead three pence ; Foreigners paid a third more besides the Merchant, to take an Oath before the Mayor of the Staple, &c. that they should hold no Staple beyond the Sea of the same Commodities according to the 27th. of *Edward the Third*, Chap. I. State Staple. Now if our Ancestors found reason to keep this methodical Check upon the Transportation of Wools only , to preserve the Kings small Duty , before *England* attained the Woollen Manufacture , much more ought there now to be a stricter Check observed , when not only the Kings great Duty, but Manufacture , which is the Wealth and Glory of the Country, depends upon it.

And for *Ireland*, the Staple being confined to the four Ports beforementioned , all upon the English Sea , both for Markets and Shiping , if it were now observed with these following Rules added , they could never wrong us of a Bag of Wool.

1. That as our Ports are prescribed, so the Markets of the Staple appointed, as before observed in *England*,

England, and every Town prescribed its Port to ship, that the Staplers at every such Market should maintain a sworn Weigher, who should certifie to the Staple Port the Quantity and Quality of the Wool then weighed, and to whom sold.

2. That no person be permitted to buy or sell Wools, &c. but a Brother of the Yeild of the Staple, who upon their Freedom are sworn not to transgresst its Laws: If Foreigners, to give Security to observe the Staple Rules.

3. That no Ship be permitted to transport Wool, that do not belong either to the Port where it was taken in, or the Port in *England* it is consign'd to.

4. That no Security be accepted, but known substantial Inhabitants of the Port the Goods are ship'd from.

5. That the Clerk of the Licenses register every License, and issue no more to that person, until he bring a Certificate or a Copy of the Cocket from the Custom-house, of the due shiping of the former to be fil'd.

That the Certificate of its true landing be returned in six months after the date of the Cocket to the Customer, and he to send a Copy of it to the Clerk of the Licenses, or otherwise the Bonds be deliver'd to the Mayor of the Staple to be put in suit.

These Rules being observed, I dare undertake to answer for every pound of Wool wrong transported, and without some such Expedient, the Manufactures of *England* as well as *Ireland* will be ruined by the Transportation of *Irish* Wools to foreign Markets.

This

This Company of Staplers being the first Corporation of *England* for the Regulation of Trade, it was dandled and hugg'd by the State, as that which contained the spirit and life of all the Traf-fique of the Kingdom, not only to regulate the abuses of Trade, but to recover their Trade out of the hands of Foreigners, especially the Yeild of the *Hance* beforementioned, who by reason of their great Stock and Credit from so many foreign Cities incorporated with them, ingrossed the chief Trade of *England*, particular Merchants being not able to thrive under their shadow, which was the reason the Staple was so often removed from Country to Country, and City to City, still to way-lay and interpose betwixt the Yeild of the *Hance* and the Trade of *England*.

The original or beginning of the Yeild of the *Hance* I find not; but *Fitz Stephen* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who wrote in the time of King *Stephen*, observes that Merchants of all Nations had their distinct Keys and Wharfs in *London*, the *Hance* or *Dutch* had the *Still-yards*, the *French* for the Wines, the *Vintry*, &c.

William of Malmesbury, who wrote in the time of the Conqueror, called *London* a Noble City, frequented with the Trade of Merchandizes from all parts of the World: *Malmesbury* cites *Clifford*, declaring the same in *Edward the Confessor's* time, 1042. and how long before is uncertain; but so long it was that they had ingrossed the chief Trade of *England*, &c. and had taken such deep root, it cost the State great trouble, and the Staple great labour

labour before they could loosen them: *Edward* the first began it at *Westminster*, then removed it to *Canterbury*, in Honour of *Thomas Becket*, then to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, from thence to the divers places in *England* and *Ireland* beforementioned, next to *Calice*, in order to strengthen and support that *Garrison*, at which time the King had granted him in Parliament, the twenty sixth of his Reign, Fifty shillings upon every Sack of Wool transported for six years, and at the same time there were yearly transported more than one hundred thousand Sacks of Wool; that during the six years the said Grant brought into the Kings Exchequer one Million five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

In the 37th. of *Edward* the third, it was granted to him for two years, to take twenty six shillings and eight pence upon every Sack of Wool transported; and the same year the Staple (notwithstanding the Kings Oath, and other great Estates) was ordained to be kept at *Calice*, and twenty six Merchants, the best and wealthiest of all *England*, to be Farmers there, both of the Town and Staple, for three years, every Merchant to have six Men of Arms and four Archers at the Kings cost; he ordained there also two Mayors, one for the Town, and one for the Staple; and he took *Mala capti*, commonly called *Mallorth*, twenty shillings, and of the said Merchants, Guardians of the Town, forty pence upon every Sack of Wool.

In the 44th. of *Edward* the third *Quinborough*,
Kingstone

Kingstone upon Hull and *Boston* were made Staples of Wool, which matter so offended some, that in the 50th. year of his Reign, in a Parliament at *London*, it was complained, that the Staple of Wool was so removed from *Calice*, to divers Towns in *England*, contrary to the Statute, appointing, that Citizens and Merchants should keep it there, and that the King might have the Profits and Customs, with the Exchange of the Gold and Silver that was there made, by all the Merchants in Christendom, (esteemed to amount to Eight thousand pounds by the year) the Exchange only; and the Citizens and the Merchants so ordered the matter, that the King spent nothing upon Souldiers, neither upon Defence of the Town against the Enemies; whereas now he spent Eight thousand pounds by the year: in the 51th. year of *Edward the third*, when the Staple was settled at *Calice*, the Mayor of the Staple did furnish the Captain of the Town, upon any Road, with one hundred Bill-men and two hundred Archers, of Merchants and their Servants, without any Wages.

In the year 1388. the 12th. of *Richard the second*, in a Parliament at *Cambridge*, it was ordain-ed, that the Staple of Wools should be brought from *Middleborough in Zealand* to *Calice*.

In the 14th. of his Reign there was granted forty shillings upon every Sack of Wool; and in the 21th. was granted fifty shillings upon every Sack transported by *Englishmen*, and three pounds by *Strangers, &c.*

It

It seems that all Commodities of the Realm are staple Merchandizes by Law and Charter, as Wools, Leather, Wool Fells, Led, Tin, Cloth, &c.

King *Henry the sixth* had six Wool-houses within the Staple at *Westminster*, those he granted to the Dean and Canons of St. *Stephen at Westminster*, and confirm'd it the 21. of his Reign. Thus much for the Staple have I shortly noted out of *Stow's Survey of London*, fol. 496, 497.

Now by this account of the Staple, it is easie to imagine of what a high value it was both to the Kings and Parliaments of *England*, for upwards of 200 years no new Corporations for Trade were constituted; and as they increased in Trade, it abated of its ancient vigor and splendor, after it had worn out all Foreigners, and rescued the Clothing Trade from the *Dutch*, that the Wools of *England* were prohibited, the Transportation of which being its chief support.

But *Ireland* yet transporting most of its Wools, it can lay the Foundation of a Corporation for the Increase of its Foreign Traffique upon no better basis; the Statute Staple being yet in force in *Ireland*, it will make their Constitution legal until a Parliament be called, and no better Methods and Rules can be contrived than what the Statute Staple institutes.

C H A P. II.

The second Expedient to recover Irelands Decays in its Trade and Wealth is, to endavour to convince England, that it is the Interest both of King and Realm to promote it.

1. That it is the Interest of *England*, that the English Interest in *Ireland* should grow and flourish in Trade and Wealth is manifest, though it hath been its ruining fate, to have it otherwise apprehended by Statesmen of *England* both in Court and Parliaments, which must proceed from taking wrong measures of the English Interest of *Ireland*, especially since the suppression of the last Rebellion.

For it is with Politick as with Natural Bodies, whilst the peccant Humour that feeds the Disease is most predominant, the Body must be kept low; but so soon as the natural Strength gains the dominion over the Distemper, the more ye nourish it, the faster Health increaseth; and that this is *Ireland's* present case is manifest; for if it be considered, that before the last Rebellion the Irish Interest was potent.

1. The Irish were far the greater number of Proprietors of Land, possessing ten Acres for one; whereas

whereas now of the Ten millions eight hundred sixty eight thousand nine hundred forty nine Acres, returned by the last Survey of *Ireland*, the *Irish* Papists are possest but of Two millions forty one thousand one hundred and eight Acres, which is but a small matter above the fifth part of the whole; and as the Proprietors of Lands, so is it in their Plantations; for where there was one *English* Planter before the last Rebellion 1641. it is judged there is three now: and in several of the principal Counties next adjacent to *England*, as *Wicklow* and *VVexford*, where there was ten *Irish* Papists to one *English* Protestant, the odds now lies on the other hand.

2. Before 1641. their Interest in the Lands and Popularity of the Inhabitants necessitated the Government to admit them to all County-Offices, as High Sheriffs, Justices, &c. wherby they had opportunity to encourage the *Irish*, and discountenance the *English*; but now not one *Irish* Sheriff, or Justice in the Kingdom.

3. Before the Rebellion the chief Inhabitants of all principal Cities and strong Towns were *Irish* Papists, who bore all Offices, and managed the chief Trade of those places, all which places are now planted, or at least governed by *English* Protestants.

4. Before the Rebellion those Freeholders, and Proprietors of Lands, there were in *Ireland*, were not the Kings Tenants; but derived their Titles from the *Irish* Noblemen and Gentlemen, which contracted an immediate dependence upon them, and

and kept an awing influence over them; for though the Kings of England were owned as Lords of Ireland, yet the Lords of Ireland ruled as Kings, and were so stiled by the Kings of England, as is observed by Sir John Davis out of several Records; saith he, *They governed their people by their Brehon Law, they made their Magistrates and Officers, they pardoned and punished all Malefactors, they made War and Peace one with another without controlment, and this to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth,* pag. 13, 14. So Hovendon, p. 312. and were not entirely subjected to the English Laws until the 9th. of King James: but had that learned Observer lived until the 12th. of Charles the Second, he would have admitted Ireland was never entirely subjected to the Crown of England, nor the Lands of Ireland never properly called the Kings Land, until the Act of Settlement then past; as Sir Audley Mervin, then Speaker to the House of Commons, in his Speech to the Duke of Ormonde, called that Act *Ireland's Magna Charta*, it exceeding all former Grants of the Kings of England, and former Submissions of the body of the People of Ireland in these particulars.

1. As a free Act of Grace, when His Majesty was under no politick Obligation, but what meer Grace and Bounty mov'd him, to which never any Grant before was; for though they were still stiled Acts of Grace, yet Reason of State interposed for them; which will be easily granted, if the State of England and Ireland be compared at the time of those former Royal Confessions, when the

Irish still treated with their Swords in their hands, or at least hid where they knew how to find them, if they were not answered in their expectation ; as in the History of Desmonds and Tyrones, &c. Rebellion is manifest.

2. Former Grants did only dispose of some Countries, or Lordships, to soine few persons who depended upon the Crown, and all others upon them : but this of the whole Land, that was not before disposed of ; whereby there is more Tenants to the Crown settled by this Act, above forty for one, than by any former Grants.

3. Not only the Lands of *Ireland*, but all the Cities and strong walled Towns are secured in hands true to the Crown of *England* by this Act, that never were before.

4. By this Act there is a Revenue secured to the King, sufficient to maintain a compleat Army to preserve the Peace, which never was before.

Therefore I argue the state of the Interest not only of the Crown but of the Kingdom of *Ireland* is altered, as to the Freehold Interest above double, nay treble, to what it ever was before ; the *English* being in possession, by that Act, of four millions five hundred sixty thousand thirty seven Acres, and the *Irish* but in two millions three hundred twenty three thousand eight hundred and nine, so that if the majority of Proprietors may give the deno-

denominations to a Country, which usually it doth,
Ireland is become *West England*.

Besides this, the governing party universally professeth and only incourageth the *English* publick Worship; it is governed by *English Laws* enacted by *English Parliaments*, and administred by *English Judges*, guarded by an *English Army*, and governed by *English Ministers of State*, to that degree it never was before; and all this administred by the absolute Commission from the King of *England*: and must it yet be kept under, and esteemed of as an *Irish Interest*, and *Country*? when the very Nature and civil Constitution of *Ireland* is altered; and proportionably ought the Wealth and Prosperity of it to be promoted by *England* for these Reasons.

1. It is the Interest both of the Crown and People of *England* to enable the *English Interest* of *Ireland* not only to support its self in peace, but to defend its self in war; which nothing but promoting its Trade and Wealth will do, especially the Wealth of its Cities and walled Towns: for the increasing its Wealth in the Fields, doth rather increase its danger, by enouraging the needy Natives the rather to rise, when they observe how easily they can possess themselves of so great a Booty; but the Wealth of the Cities and strong Towns, which is the trading Stock of the Nation, is secure, and ready to be imployed in the defence of their King and Countries Interest, when in danger: besides, they are the only security and refuge to the

distressed *English*, when banished from their Country Habitations; and these places of strength cannot subsist without Trade and Manufacture, but by more chargeable Garisons than the Revenue of *Ireland* will bear.

And what *Ireland* cannot do in order to its safety, *England* must supply, to prevent its own danger; for if ever an Enemy surprize and posses *Ireland*, especially the *French*, *England* must maintain a greater standing Force to secure themselves, than would have preserved *Ireland*, if employed in its Defence: it is not a groundless proverb, *He that would England win must with Ireland first begin*; and if the *French*, who hath already the opposite Coast, and Harbours from *Dunkirk* to *Brest*, ever obtain *Ireland*, they will then surround three parts of four of *England*, and a great part of *Scotland*, so near that in a few hours they may invade what part they please; which would necessitate *England* to be at the charge of a considerable standing Army and Fleet, to prevent *French* Invasion, at double the charge of preserving *Ireland* now: and the Invader with two ordinary Squadrons of Ships, one at *Brest*, and the other at *Baltimore*, *Bantrie*, or any of those bold Western Harbours, they would so distress the Trade of *England*, a Ship should with much difficulty pass Southward without a great Convey, but they would seize him; and then possessing the Wools of *Ireland*, they would utterly ruin the Clothing Trade of *England*; and if nothing else can, that will convince *England*, when too late, that the strength of the English Interest of *Ireland*

Ireland is their Bulwark, as to foreign Invasion of their Country, and violent wresting from thence their Trade.

The second Reason is, because *Englands* neglect herein hath been the cause of that intolerable charge *Ireland* hath cost *England*, in preserving and recovering its Interest in *Ireland* in times past, more than *Ireland* was worth to be bought and sold when *Henry the second* first conquered it.

Cambden in his Appendix to *Eliz.* tells us, *Tyrone's* War cost *England* one million one hundred ninety eight thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds: *Borlacy* in his History of the Rebellion of 1641, computes the Charge of *England* in that War unto twenty two millions one hundred ninety one thousand two hundred fifty-eight pounds three shillings; then compute the Charge of its first Conquest by *Henry the second*, with the suppression of the several Rebellions from that time unto *Tyrone's* Rebellion 1595. to cost *England* but double as much as *Tyrone's* Suppression did, which (if *Spencer* mistakes not) were every seven years in the Queens time; and he writ his *View of Ireland* in the later end of her long Reign of forty four years, which were at least six Rebellions in the Queens time; (and it is evident by our Histories, as I have noted in my Catalogue, *Ireland* never enjoyed seven years peace together from its first Conquest to that time;) then *Ireland* hath cost *England* twenty four millions five hundred eighty eight thousand six hundred ninety two pounds, which is near three pounds *per Acre*, one with another, for all the Land

D d z they

they posseſſ in *Ireland*, which is above double its value now, and above four times its worth to purchase *Anno 1172.* when *Henry the second* conquered it; and so ſensible were our Predeceſſors hereof, that in the 11th. year of Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy, in the Preamble to the Act of Parliament for a Subſidy they thus expreſſed themſelves to the Queen, viz. *Considering the infinite maſſes of Treasure, able to purchase a Kingdom, that your moſt noble Progenitors have exhausted for the Government, Defence and Preserva-tion of your Majesties Realm of Ireland:* and in the body of the ſaid Act thus; *We for the Alienation of ſome part of your Majesties ineſtimable Charge do revive the ſaid Subſidy:* yet after this *Desmond*, and (towards the later end of the Queens Reign) *Tyrone* were chargeable Rebels to *Ireland*; and that moſt excellent Governoūr, of whom *Campion* gives this Character; *A man muſch beloved, ſtately without diſdain, familiar without contempt, very continent, learned in many Languages, a great Lover of Learning, ſkilful in Antiquities, in utterance happy, &c.* This Noble perſon, who had ſpent the moſt part of his Life in *Ireland*, viz. from the third of Queen *Mary* to the thirteenth of *Elizabeth*, March 25. 1571. in his moſt elegant Speech in Parliament, printed at large by *Campion*, in Reply to ſome that grumbled at the Charge of the Army, reaſons thus; *Many a good fellow talks of Robin Hood, that never drew in his Bow, and many an idle Head is full of Proclamations, &c. but let me ſee which of them can juſtifie that Ireland can*

spare

spare the Army, &c. Are your Enemies more tractable, are they fewer, are your selves of force to match them? if you be, then were England stark mad, to disburse thirty thousand pounds a year, for no other purpose but to vex and grieve you; that were like the Husband who gelded himself to anger his Wife, &c. whose Arguments are still in force, for the keeping up a potent Army in Ireland, notwithstanding the Charge.

I could give many instances of the vast Charge Ireland hath put *England* unto, above what it was ever worth to purchase; all which intolerable Charge hath proceeded from the not improving the English Interest in *Ireland* by Trade and Manufactures; whereby the English Planters have been constrained to betake themselves to Husbandry amongst the *Irish* for their livelihood, and the *Irish* being better acquainted with the nature of the Soyl, and accustomed to a more frugal way of living, have eaten up the substance of the English, by which they have been constrained to court their Friendship; and by their Fosterings, and mixtures by Marriage, multitudes of them have embraced their Religion, Customs and Manners, and degenerated to their Interest, as was manifest in the last Rebellion; the strength of the *Irish* consisted in the degenerate *English*.

And as *Ireland* is thus altered in its Estates, strong Holds, &c. treble to what it ever was before; so the Inhabitants, both *Irish* and degenerate old *English*, are many of them now *English* Protestants; there are many of the *Tooles, Burns,*

D d 4 *Cavenaghs,*

Cavenaghs, Releys, ò Neales, ò Bryans, ò Moores, ò Sulivants, Mac Cartys, Mac Laughlins, Mac Guires, &c. are now English Protestants: and more might have been long since, saith Spencer, if the English Government had done their parts, to have supplied the Country with learned, pious, and painful Preachers, that would have out-preach'd, and out-liv'd the Irish Priests in holy and godly Conversations, which that most intelligent Observer of Englands Defects in the Irish Affairs, pag. 113. saith thus; *In planting of Religion thus much is needful to be observed, &c. that it be not sought forcibly, to be impressed into them with terror, and sharp penalties, as now is the manner; but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their Professors despised and rejected: And therefore it is expedient, that some discreet Ministers of their own Countrymen be first sent over amongst them, which by their meek persuasions and instructions, as also by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to embrace the Doctrine of their Salvation: for if the ancient godly Fathers, which first converted them, when they were Infidels, to the Faith, were able to pull them from Idolatry and Paganism to the true Belief in Christ, as St. Patrick and St. Columb; how much more easily shall godly Teachers bring them to the true understanding of that which they already profess? wherein it's a great wonder to see the odds which is between the Zeal of Popish Priests, and the Ministers of the Gospel; for they*

are

*spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from
Rhemes, by long toyl, and dangerous travelling hi-
ther, where they know peril of Death awaiteth them,
and no Reward or Riches is to be found, only to draw
the people unto the Church of Rome; whereas some
of our idle Ministers, having a way for credit and
estimation thereby opened unto them, and having
the Livings of the Country offered unto them, with-
out pains, and without peril, will neither for the
same, nor any Love of God, nor zeal of Religion,
nor for all the good they may do, by winning Spouls to
God, be drawn forth from their warm nests, to look
out into Gods Harvest, which is even ready for the
Sickle, and all the Fields yellow long ago; doubtless
those good old Fathers will (I fear me) rise up in the
day of Judgment to condemn them: thus this great
Scholar and true Protestant avers, the true Reli-
gion is not to be planted by penal Laws, or the ter-
ror of punishments, which may fill a Church with
temporising Hypocrites, but never with sincere
Professors; nor is it to be propagated by a vicious,
slothful Minister: So Heylin writing of the Irish,
saith he, *For their Religion they either adhere to the
Pope or their own superstitious Fancies, &c. and it
is no wonder they should, there being no care taken
to instruct them in the Protestant Religion, either by
translating the Bible or English Lyturgy into their
own Language, &c.* And to manifest the Irish are as
capable of Conviction as others, he instances in Ric.
Fitz Ralph Archbishop of Armagh, who flourished
an. 1350. a declared enemy to the Errors and Cor-
ruptions of the Church of Rome, *Heyl. Cosm. 34.**

But

But notwithstanding these Defects that have been in the Governments and Clergy, it is evident many of the ordinary sort of *Irish Papists* are now Protestants; and not only they, but divers Noble and Worshipful Families of great Interest in their Country formerly Papists, are now Protestants; as appears by the annexed Catalogue of the *Irish* Nobility; which, as it greatly weakens the Popish *Irish*, so it much strengthens the *English* Protestant Interest, by reducing the highest Court of Judicature from an *Irish* to an *English* constitution, which doth alter the nature of our Parliaments; that as the House of Commons, if Election be permitted without a Test, will be three for one on the *English* side, as they that know the constitution of the Corporations in the annexed Schedule will grant; so the House of Peers is hereby reduced at least three for one on the *English* Protestants side, as by the annexed Catalogue appears: and while God blesses us with an *English* Protestant King and Parliament, *Ireland* can never degenerate from an *English* Protestant Interest: and therefore may safely be trusted under the Conduct of an *Irish* Protestant chief Governour; as in the next Chapter is asserted.

A LIST of what PLACES return
 PARLIAMENT-MEN
 IN
 I R E L A N D.

Leinster.

County of Catherlough	2
Bor. of Catherlough	2
Borough of Old Leighlin	2
	—
total	6

Bor. of Knoctopher	2
Bor. of St. Kennis	2
City of Kilkenny	2
	—
total	18

County of Dublin

City of Dublin	2
University of Dublin	3
Bor. of Newcastle	2
Bor. of Swoordes	2
	—
total	11

County of Kildare	2
Bor. of Kildare	2
Bor. of Naas	2
Bor. of Athy	2
	—
total	8

Villa de Drogheda

County of Kilkenny	2
Bor. of Callen	2
Borough of Thomas Town	2
Bor. of Gowran	2
Bor. of Kells	2
Bor. of Emisteoge	2

County Regis	2
Bor. of Philips Town	2
Bor. of Byrr.	2
Bor. of Banagher	2
	—
total	8

County of Meath.	2
Bor. of Trim	2
Bor. of Kells	2

Bor.

The Interest

Part 2.

<i>Bor. of Navan</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Featherd</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Athbuy</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Bannow</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Duleeke</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Cloghmaire</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Ratooth</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Arkloe</i>	2
	—	<i>Bor. of Taghman</i>	2
	<i>total</i> 14	<i>Bor. of Newborough</i>	2

<i>County Reginæ</i>	2		
<i>Bor. of Bellakill</i>	2		
<i>Bor. of Maryborough</i>	2	<i>County of Longford</i>	2
<i>Port Arlington</i>	2	<i>Town of Longford</i>	2
	—	<i>Bor. of Lanesborough</i>	2
	<i>total</i> 8		—
			<i>total</i> 20

<i>County of West Meath</i>	2		
<i>Bor. of Athlone</i>	2	<i>County of Louth</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Fower</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Dundalk</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Kilbegan</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Arthdee</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Mullingar</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Carlingford</i>	2
	—		—
	<i>total</i> 10		<i>total</i> 6

<i>County of Wicklow</i>	2	Munster.	
<i>Bor. of Wicklow</i>	2	<i>County of Cork</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Caresford</i>	2	<i>City of Cork</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Baltinglass</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Mallow.</i>	2
	—	<i>Bor. of Baltimore</i>	2
	<i>total</i> 8	<i>Bor. of Cloghne Kilty</i>	2
		<i>Bor. of Bandonbridge</i>	2

<i>County of Wexford</i>	2		
<i>Town of Wexford</i>	2		
<i>Town of Ros</i>	2		
<i>Bor. of Eniscourthy</i>	2		
	—		
	<i>total</i> 16		
		<i>County</i>	

<i>County of Clare</i>	2	Distr.	
<i>Bor. of Inish</i>	2		
	total 4		
<i>County of Kerry</i>	2	<i>County of Ardmagh</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Traley</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Ardmagh</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Dinglecough</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Charlemount</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Ardfart</i>	2		total 6
	total 8		
<i>County of Limerick</i>	2	<i>County of Antrim</i>	2
<i>City of Limerick</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Belfast</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Kilmalock</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Carickfargus</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Askeaton</i>	2	<i>Borough of Lisbon</i>	2
	total 8	<i>Borough of Antrim</i>	2
			total 10
<i>County of Tipperary</i>	2	<i>County of Cavan</i>	2
<i>Town of Tipperary</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Cavan</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Clonmell</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Belturbett</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Featherd</i>	2		total 6
<i>Town of Cashell</i>	2	<i>County of Down</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Thurles</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Down</i>	2
	total 12	<i>Bor. of Newtown</i>	2
<i>County of Waterford</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Newry</i>	2
<i>City of Waterford</i>	2	<i>Ballkillaleagh</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Dungharvan</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Bangar</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Lismore</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Hilsborough</i>	2
<i>Bor. of Tallow</i>	2		total 14
	total 10		

County

<i>County of Donegall</i>	2	<i>Connacht.</i>
<i>Bor. of Lifford</i>	2	<i>County of Galway</i>
<i>Bor. of Ballishanon</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Galway</i>
<i>Bor. of Kilbegs</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Athenry</i>
<i>Bor. of Donegall</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Tuam</i>
<i>Bor. of St. Johns Town</i>	2	
	—	
	<i>total 12</i>	<i>total 8</i>
<i>County of Fermanagh</i>	2	<i>County of Leitrim</i>
<i>Bor. of Eniskilling</i>	2	<i>Bor. of James Town</i>
	—	<i>Bor. of Carickdrunrusk</i>
	<i>total 4</i>	<i>total 6</i>
<i>County of Londonderry</i>	2	<i>County of Mayo</i>
<i>City of Londonderry</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Castlebarr</i>
<i>Bor. of Coleraine</i>	2	
<i>Bor. of Lannevaddy</i>	2	
	—	<i>total 4</i>
	<i>total 8</i>	<i>total 8</i>
<i>County of Monaghan</i>	2	<i>County of Roscommon</i>
<i>Bor. of Monaghan</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Roscommon</i>
	—	<i>Bor. of Tulsk</i>
	<i>total 4</i>	<i>total 6</i>
<i>County of Tyrone</i>	2	<i>County of Sligo</i>
<i>Bor. of Donegall</i>	2	<i>Bor. of Sligo</i>
<i>Town of Clogher</i>	2	
<i>Bor. of Agber</i>	2	
<i>Bor. of Strabane</i>	2	
	—	
	<i>total 10</i>	<i>total 4</i>
		<i>The whole number 285</i>
		Of which, considering the present constitution of these Corporations, no man can think where ten Papists can carry an Election.

A Catalogue of the present PEERS
of *IRELAND*, 1681 not in exact
Order as to Seniority, though I used
my utmost endeavours to have done
that, designing only to manifest the
Strength of the *English* Interest in
the House of Peers.

PROTESTANTS.

Duke Ormond.

Earls

Kildare
Thomond
Cork
Desmond
Barrymore
Meath
Offery
Roscommon
Londonderry
Donnegall

PRO-

PAPISTS.

Marquess Antrym.

Earls.

Clanrickard
Castlehaven
West Meath
Fingall
Castlemayne
Carlingford.

PA-

PROTESTANTS.

Arran
Conaway
Carberry
Ardglass
Rannalagh
Cavan
Inchiquin
Clancarty
Orrery
Mountroth
Drogheda
Waterford
Mountalexander
Down
Longford
Tyrone

Viscounts.

Grandison
Wilmot
Loftus of Ely
Swordes
Kilmurry

PRO-

PAPISTS.

Viscounts.

Costalo
Mayo
Merrion
Fairfax
Fitz Williams

PA-

PROTESTANTS.

Valentia
Maryborough
Castleton
Chaworth
Sligoe
Waterford
Strangford
Tuam
Cashell
Carlow
Cullen
Shannon
Mazareene
Dromoore
Dungarvan
Dungannon
Kells
Fitz Harding
Clare
Charlemont
Powerscourt
Blefinton
Granard
Lanesborough
Rofs

PRO-

PAPISTS.

Gormanston
Fermoy
Rathcoole
Barefore
Brunker
Galmoy
Kingsland
Mountgarret
Dowth
Evagh
Kilmallock
Ikerine
Glanmaleyra
Claine
Downe
Tracy.

Ee

PA-

PROTESTANTS.

Barons.

Kinsale
Kerry
Hoath
Mountjoy
Folior
Maynard
Dundalk
Digbey
Lifford
Herbert
Loghlin
Coleraine
Leitrim
Donamore
Blaney
Killard
Kingston
Colooney
Santry
Lowth
Glawnally
Altham
Castleward.

PAPISTS.

Barons.

Athenry
Cahir
Baltimore
Strabane
Slane
Trimleston
Dunsany
Dunboyn
Upper Offory
Castleconnell
Brittas.

Besides, the Protestants have the advantage of our reverend Protestant Judges, and the Kings learned Counsels, to advise and countenance the Protestant Interest in Ireland in that highest Court.

A Catalogue of the Nobility of
Ireland Anno 1571. recorded
by *Campion* fol. 5.

Earls.

Gerrald Fitz Girald of Kildare,
His eldest Son Lord Baron of Ophaly.
Sir Thomas Butler of Ormond and Offery,
His eldest Son Viscount Thurles.
Fitz Girald of Desmonde,
His eldest Son Baron of Inshycoin.
Sir Richard Bourk of Clanrickard,
His eldest Son Baron of Donkeline.
Conegher Obrene of Thomond,
His eldest Son Baron of Ibrecane,
Mac Carty More of Clarcar,
His eldest Son Baron of Valentia.

Viscounts.

Barrie,
Roche,
Preston of Gormanstown ,
Eustace alias Power of Baltinglass,
Sir Richard Butler of Montgaret,
Deces,

Barons.

Lord Bermingham of Athenry,
John Bermingham,
Mac Morice *alias* Fitz Girald of Kery,
Lord Courcey,
Lord Fleming of Slane,
Plunket of Killyne,
Newgent of Delvin,
St. Laurence of Hoath,
Plonket of Doonesawney,
Barnwell of Trimleston,
Butler of Donboyne,
Phitz Patrick of Upper Ossery,
Clonagh Mac Gilpatrick,
Plonket of Louth,
O Neal of Dungannon,
Power of Curraghmore,
Mac Suretan *Lord* Deseret,
Obrene of Inshycoiin,
Mac Costilaghe *Lord* Nangle,
Mac William Burck *Lord* of Eighter Con-
nacht.

A Catalogue of the *Irish Nobility*

Anno 1641. as I find it in the Heralds Office, by which may be observed something of the Seniority of their Dignities, comparing it with that of 1681. But it is useful to inform the great alteration of the Constitution of the House of Peers, since that time, to the advantage of the *English Interest*.

Earls.

George Fitz Girald of Kildare,
James Butler of Ormond and Ossery,
Henry O Bryan of Thomond,
Ulick de Bourk of Clanrickard,
James Tuchet of Castlehaven,
Richard Boyle of Cork,
Randall Mac Dannell of Antrym,
Richard Nugent of West Meath,
James Dillon of Roscommon,
Robert Bridgeway of Londonderry,
George Fielding of Desmond,
William Brabazon of Meath,
David Barry of Barrymore,
Richard Vaughan of Carberry,
Luke Plunket of Fingall,
William Pope of Down,
Thomas Cromwell of Ardglas.

Vizcounts.

Nicholas Preston of Gormanstown,
David Roth of Fermoy,
Richard Butler of Montgarret,
William Villars of Grandison,
Charles Wilmot of Athlone,
Henry Poore of Valentia,
Charles Moore of Drogheda,
Thomas Dillon of Castillo,
Nicholas Neterville of Louth,
Hugh Montgomery of the Ards,
James Hamleton of Claneboy,
Adam Loftus of Ely,
Sapcot Beumont of Swordes,
Hugh Magennis of Evagh,
Thomas Cromwell of Lecale,
Edward Chichester of Carickfargus,
Robert Needham of Kilmurry,
Dominick Scarsfeild of Kilmallock,
Thomas Somerset of Cashell,
Edward Conway of Kilultagh,
Miles Bourke of Mayo,
Thomas Roper of Baltinglass,
Nicholas Sanderson of Castleton,
Lewis Boyle of Kilmakey,
George Chaworth of Ardmagh,
Thomas Savile of Savile,

John

John Scudamore *of Sligo*,
Robert Chalmundly *of Kells*,
Richard Lumley *of Waterford*,
Thomas Smith *of Strangford*,
Richard Wenman *of Tuam*,
John Taafe *of Cerine*,
William Mounton *of Castlemaine*,
Roger Jones *of Ranelagh*,
Charles Mac Carty *of Muskry*,
Richard Mulleneux *of Maryburg*,
Thomas Fairfax *of Emeley*,
Thomas Bourk *of Clanmorris*,
Pierce Butler *of Ikerine*,
Thomas Fitz Williams *of Merryyoung*,
Terence Dempsey *of Glanmaleyra*.

Lord Barons.

Richard Bermingham *of Athenry*,
Girald Courcey *of Kinfaile*,
Patrick Fitz Morris *of Kerry & Lixmew*,
William Flemming *of Slaine*,
Nicholas St. Laurance *of Hoath*,
Patrick Plunket *of Dunsawny*,
Robert Barnwell *of Trimleston*,
John Power *of Coroghmore*,
Edward Butler *of Dunboyne*,
Barnabas Mac Gilpatrick *of Upper Ossery*,
Oliver Plunket *of Louth*,

Murrough O Bryan *of Inchequin*,
Edmond Bourke *of Castleconnell*,
Thomas Butler *of Cahir*,
Mountjoy Blunt *of Mountjoy*,
Charles Lambert *of Cavan*,
Theobald Bourke *of Brittias*,
Andrew Steward *of Castlesteward*,
James Belfoure *of Glanawley*,
Thomas Foliot *of Ballishanon*,
William Maynard *of Wicklow*,
Edward Georges *of Dunake*,
Robert Digbey *of Geashell*,
William Harvey *of Rosse*,
William Fitz Williams *of Lifford*,
William Caufield *of Charlemount*,
Theodore Dockray *of Culmore*,
Gerald Aungier *of Longford*,
Henry Blaney *of Monaghan*,
Laurence Esmond *of Limerick*, (Curety,
Dermond O Malunc *of Glan Malune* and
Edward Herbert *of Castleisland*,
Cecil Calvert *of Baltimore*,
William Brereton *of Loghlin*,
Hugh Harc *of Coleraine*,
William Sherrard *of Leitrim*,
Roger Boyle *of Broghill*,
Conner Mac Guire *of Iniskilline*,
Francis Ansley *of Mount Norris*,

And

And as it is the Interest of the Crown and Realm of *England*, to promote the prosperity of the *English* Interest in *Ireland*; so it is equally the Interest of the *Irish* Papists themselves to aid and promote the same; their contrary apprehensions have been their ruin: for from thence have proceeded all their bloody Massacres and Rebellions; and though it hath cost *England* vast quantities of Blood and Treasure to subdue them, yet they paid the Reckoning at last, to the utter ruin of most of the great Lords and Septs; and just it should be so, if the Right and Title of *England* to what it possessest, and endeavoured to keep in *Ireland* be impartially considered.

If we omit what all our Histories record of the ancient Sovereignty the Kings of *Britain* claimed, and enjoyed in *Ireland*; as that in the time of *Gurguntius, Anno Dom. 359.* they were his Subjects, and after that in the time of King *Arthur Anno 519.* above 600 years before *Henry* the second conqueredit 1172. the King summoned all the Kings and Lords of *Ireland* to attend *Gilmarrow*, their Monarch, and with him perform their Homage at *Carlisle*, which they all did accordingly.

And only consider the justness of the Cause of *Strongbow* and his Comrades in their first Adventure, it was not only with the consent, but at the desire of their own King; they contracted with *Dermot Mac Morrough King of Leinster*, a banish'd oppressed Prince, to aid him in the recovery of his just Rights, a quarrel not only approved to be just, but charitable, by all Casuists, Pagans, Turks, Jews,

Jews, and Christians, to relieve and assist the weak and oppressed against the strong Oppressor, and what was the just Right of *Mac Morrough* to recover, was in his power to dispose, and lawful for his Aiders to receive; it being their due by contract before they would adventure, that *Strongbow* should have delivered *Mac Morrough's* only Danghter and Heir in Marriage, and his Kingdom after her Fathers decease, and that *Fitz Steephon* and *Fitz Girald, &c.* should have the Town of *Wexford*, and two Cantreds of Land adjoyning, which places were accordingly gained by their Sword, and given them in possession by the legal Proprietor; and had they been permitted quietly to enjoy this small part they so rightfully possest, they had gone no further.

But instead thereof, *Roderick King of Connacht*, then sole Monarch of *Ireland*, raiseth the whole Kingdom to drive out *Mac Morrough* and his *Welshmen*; upon which he appeals to *Strongbow*, and renewes former contracts, who hast over with about 1200 fresh Men, by them wars with the *Waterfordians*, who were in Arms against him, took the City, and married the Kings Daughter, with an assurance of the Reversion of the Kingdom, and soon after disperses his Enemies, then surrendred all his Conquests to the King, who came over with a new Force to secure his Interest, which so terrified the *Irish*, that all their Kings and great Lords proffered to be tributary, and swore Allegiance; and had they so continued, they had felt no farther damages.

But

But no sooner was the Kings back turned, but they are again up in Arms, to dispossess the *English* of what they had so justly archieved, who still subdued them, and gained ground of them, and obtained Grants of their new Conquests until all the Irish Kings and great Lords were vanquished, and their Lands, &c. possest by the *English* Victors: the Heirs of *Ulster* and *Connaght* married to the Kings Subjects, whose successive Heirs in process of time were married unto the Royal Family; and so their Lands and Honours came Hereditary in the Crown, who of right disposed of them at pleasure.

Now had it not been the Interest as well as the Duty of the *Irish*, to have submitted to their first Concessions? Then *Dermot Mac Morrough* had sustained no wrong, his right Heir had enjoyed his Dominion, and the rest of the *Irish* great Lords had enjoyed their particular Rights; none pretended to disturb them, until constrained in their own defence.

So if we take a further view of their many Insurrections, and perfidious Rebellions, since they held their Honours and Lands from the Crown of *England*; it will appear they were tempted to it by the weakness of the *English* Interest; as in times of troubles in *England* by the Barons Wars, and Struggles betwixt the two Roses, &c.

When the Kings of *England* drew over part of their Army for *Ireland*, some taking one side, and some the other, which did not only weaken *Englands* Strength in *Ireland*, but divided what were

were left into powerful Factions betwixt the great English Lords of *Ireland*; which became the cause of the ruine of that great Family of *Desmond*, with several others of good Rank, who, though degenerated from their English Civilities, yet after they turned Rebels against their Prince, they fell wholly off to the Interest, Manners and Customs of his and their own former *Irish* Enemy, whereby *Ireland* was to be new conquered and replanted: for the degenerate English were more stubborn Rebels, and with more difficulty subdued, than the rebellious Natives; for although their Minds and Manners were degenerated, they had so much English Blood left in their Veins, as gave them English Courage and Resolution, whereby Tho. Fitz Giralds and *Desmonds* Rebellions became harder work to subdue, than any before them, they also receiving great Incouragements and Aids from the Pope and King of *Spain*, upon the account of Religion, they became obdurate; the same Indulgences that were granted to the Souldiers fighting against the *Turk* in the holy War being sent them, whereby their Consciences were not only released from their Obligations of Allegeance to their Prince, but strongly engaged on the behalf of holy Church, to extirpate that mad and venomous *Doctrine and Hellish Opinion*, as the Protestant Faith was then termed, in a Pamphlet then publish'd, intituled, *A Declaration of the Divines of Salamanca and Vallidolid*, dispersed through *Ireland* by O Sullivan a Spanish Priest; which, with divers other practices of the *Irish* to shake off the Eng-

English Government, is rehearsed and press'd by that pious Prelate, Primate *Usher*, the Glory of the Irish Protestant Church, in his elegant Speech to an Assembly of all the States of *Ireland*, April 1627. in which he defends my Assertion that it is the Interest of the Irish, to aid and support the Prosperity of the English Interest amongst them: and had they had Grace to have believed him, some thousands of Irish Families, now utterly ruined, might have been in a prosperous state: And after he had minded them of their traitorous tendering the Regency of *Ireland* to the French King, and upon his refusal to the *Spaniard*, which was by him accepted; for although *Henry* the fourth of *France* was not Apostate enough to invade his Protestant Neighbours, yet *Charles* the fifth of *Spain* and his Son *Philip* were Papist enough to admit the Popes Donation which the Irish obtained; for them Title good enough not only to claim *Ireland*, and invade it with several Armies of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, who landed at *Kinsale* and *Kerry*, to their cost, but also to attempt *England* by their supposed invincible Armado in 88. but the invincible just God did not only deliver us from their power, the Sword destroying his Land Souldiers in *Ireland*, and the Sea swallowing up his Naval Force assailing *England*, but also from that time blasted the Counsels and Successes of that aspiring Monarch, that their Fame and Potency hath ever since dwindled away. *Portugal* and the *Low Countries* soon after revolted; and the stately *Don*, who then talk'd and acted as proudly as *Monsieur* doth now, was

so far from beeing able to invade his Neighbours, he hath been put to his shifts to secure his Hereditary Countries : and, as old as I am, I hope to live to see it the case of *Monsieur* ; who, though now stiled the most Christian King, hath declared himself the most inveterate Enemy to the most Christian Faith and Profession in the Christian World; and let but the Defender of the Faith turn his Subjects loose, with his Commission in their pockets, they would soon covince him of it ; and let him know that the English Blood that inspired their Ancestors at the Battel of *Agincourt*, &c. is boyling hot in their Veins, and that *Charles the Second* may be as dreadful to *France* as ever was *Henry the fifth*, &c. when he pleaseth, if our God hath not given us up, for our impious provocations, to be a prey and a spoil, as he did *Israel* to the *Affryians*, a bitter and hasty Nation. But to return to my Argument, that it is the Interest of the Irish Papists to further the Protestant English Interest in *Ireland*, I shall return to my reverend Author, saith he, *They put me in mind of the Philosophers Observations*, that such who have a vehement respect to a few inferior things are easily misled to overlook many great things ; so, saith he, *they have so deep a sense of their present burthen of contributing small matters towards the support of the Kings Army, to secure us from foreign Invasions, that they overlook all those miserable Desolations that will come upon them by a long and heavy War, which the having of an Army in a readiness may be a means to prevent : the lamentable effects (said he) of the last Wars in this Kingdom*

Kingdom doth yet freshly stick in our memories : neither can we so soon forget the Depopulation of our Land ; when, besides the combustions of War, the extremity of Famine grew so great, that the very Women, in some places by the way side, have surprised the men that rode by, to feed themselves with the flesh of the Horse and the Rider : and that now again here is a Storm towards, wheresoever it will light every wise man will easily foresee, which if we be not careful to meet with in time, our estate may prove irrecoverable, when it will be too late to think of, Had I wist. Neither may you, my Lords and Gentlemen, that differ from us in point of Religion, imagine that Community of Profession will exempt you more then us from the danger of a common Eenemy ; what you may expect from a Foreigner, you may conjecture by the Answer which the Duke of Medina Sidonia gave in this case in 88. That his Sword knew no difference between a Catholick and a Heretick, but that he came to make way for his Master, and what kindness they looked for from the Countrymen that were to joyn with them, they might judge as well by the carriage which they ordinarily used towards them both in the Court and Colledges abroad, as by the Advice, not long since, presented by them unto the Council of Spain, wherein they would not have so much as the Irish Priests and Jesuits that are descended of English Blood to be trusted, but would have you, and all yours, to be accounted Enemies to the Designs of Spain, in the Declaration published about the beginning of the Insurrection of James Fitz Morice in the South, the Rebels professed, it was no part of their meaning

meaning to subvert Honorable Anglorum solium, their Quarrel was only against the person of Queen Elizabeth and her Government: But now the case is otherwise; the translating of the Throne of the English to the power of a Foreigner is the thing that is mainly intended, and the re-establishing the Irish in their ancient Possessions, which by the valour of our Ancestors were gained from them. This (saith he) you may assure your selves, Manet alta mente repositum, and makes you more to be hated of them, than any other of the English Nation whatsoever.

The danger thereof being thus common to us all, it stands us upon, to joyn our best helps for avoiding of it.

Thus you may see what deep Sentiments this great good man had of Irelands danger many years before that terrible Earthquake in 1641. tumbled down its peace and prosperity into its first Chaos, of which this holy Priest became a true Prophet 40 years before the Blow was given, in several Sermons preached before the Government, yet in print to be read.

Anno Dom. 1601. from Ezek. 4. 6. discoursing concerning the Prophets bearing the Iniquity of Judah 40 days, accounting a day for a year, he made this direct application in relation to the connivance at Popery at that time; From this year, saith he, will I reckon the Sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear this iniquity: which fell out exactly true both in point of time and thing, he also foretold all the Troubles that befell England both relating

to

to Church and State, and lived to see them come to pass accordingly; as Dean *Bernard*, who writ his Life, and others have observed; and also recorded some of his prophetical Expressions near his end, of miseries yet to come upon the Church of God, as followeth.

He being asked whether he thought that great Persecution (which he had formerly spoken of to fall upon the Protestant Churches) were past, or yet to come, he then turned his eyes towards the face of the enquirer, and fixing them there in a strange kind of manner, as he used to do when he spake not his own words, and when the power of God was upon him, said; *Fool not your self with vain hopes of its being past: for I tell you, what you have seen is but the beginning of sorrow to that which is to come on all the Protestant Churches, which e're long will fall under a sharper Persecution than ever yet they have had upon them, and that by the cruel Hands of the Papists.* On which words Dean *Bernard* makes this Comment.

Now, howsoever I am as far from heeding of Prophecies this way as any, yet with me it is not improbable, that so great a Prophet, so sanctified from his youth, so knowing, and eminent throughout the universal Church, might have at some special times more than ordinary motions and impulses, in doing the Watchmans part, of giving warning of Judgments approaching.

But doubtless the Spirit of that holy man, like just *Lots* righteous Soul, was grieved with the filthy conversation of the wicked; being well skilled in Di-

vine Astrology might prognosticate from Scripture Constellations, that a people, like those of *Laish, who dwell careless, quiet and secure, when there is no Magistrate to put them to shame for the most scandalous provoking sins*, Judg. 18. 1. Destruction was near when the iniquitys of the Amorites were at the full; the Deluge destroyed the old world, and were that faithful Watchman now alive, to behold a deluge of profess'd Prophaneness and Debauchery committed with a bold contempt of Gods and Mans Laws, to see men glory in actions Heathens are ashamed of, he would conclude the time of the fulfilling of his Prophecy was near, even at the doors.

But so obdurate were the *Irish* then against all that could be said or done to oblige them to peace, and so stupified were the *English* by their long peace, and great plenty, accompanied with grievous Debau-chery, nothing could reclaim them, but the direfull Judgment of God executed on them by those *Irish Sabeans* and *Chaldeans*, or rather *Cannibals*; for the first did but spoil *Job* of his Goods, but these eat the Flesh and drunk the Blood of the *English*, in a metaphorical sense; as Psalm 14. 4. *Have the workers of iniquity no knowledge, who eat up my people as they eat bread?* these, as the Prophet complains, devoured Israel with open mouth, and drunk their Blood as sweet Wine.

So great delight and pleasure did they manifest in the miserable distresses and tortures they put the *English* under, no tongue can express the barbarous inhumane Cruelties committed by them on all

Sexes,

Sexes, Degrees and Ages, that in a few months they destroyed (say soine) one hundred and fifty thousand, others, two hundred thousand Christians, many of whom knew not their right hand from the left, and most of them innocent naked people, in no capacity to resist, nor under the least suspicion of danger; many of them presuming upon their old intimate acquaintance, and long friendly neighbourhood amongst them, would not flee; concluding their late familiarity and mutual obligations of kindness could not so soon be forgotten, until they saw the Skean at their throats, and then they cryed out, as *Cæsar* in the Senate House, *And thou my Son Brutus!* so, What thou my old Neighbour! thou my Gossip! thou my Foster Father, or Foster Brother! what thou my near Kinsman! &c. But so vehement was their rage, no former Allies nor Obligations would be remembred, nor no bowels moved; many who had been prevailed with to sit up all the night before carousing and drinking in Taverns and Ale-houses, where they had drank so many Healths to the Grandees they favoured, themselves were sick, or rather dead drunk, and were so murdered in the morning by the same Companions before they were capable of discerning who hurt them, or had time or sense to ask God forgiveness, their Barbarism extending to their Souls as well as to their Bodies, frequently refusing them time to say their Prayers, swearing they would send their Souls presently to the Devil; and such as, through the terror of sudden Death, would go to Mass, and promise to turn Papists, were presently

sently murdered, least they should recant, saying, they should dye while they were in a good mind.

An account of the particulars for the first three months of this dismal Tragedy is recorded by Sir *John Temple*, Master of the Rolls, and one of His Majesties most honourable Privy Council, a person so universally applauded for his Prudence, Gravity and Integrity, that the Truth of his History never was or ever will be questioned by any, but those whose works of darkness hate the light ; a Book worth the chaining to every Churches Desk, and reading over once a year by every Family, to prevent that stupidity that is overgrowing the minds of too many Protestants, who are sucking in with greediness their debauch'd Principles in Morals, which so naturally blind the mind, they will easily, when it shall seem to be their interest, swallow down full cups of their Superstition, and close in with that Religion, where the most crying Sins of prophane Swearing, beastly Drunkennes, and abominable Adulteries, &c. may be pardoned for mony, without either Repentance or Reformation, as is cited by the Author of the *Mystery of Jesuitisms* out of Father *Bauny Filcutius Sagundus Escobar*, and other of their Casuists. *Vide Letter 10. 137, &c.*

Now all this rage and barbarous cruelty could not proceed from inveterate malice and revenge against their persons ; for they had not given any provocation, nor from any depravity in their Natures from principles of Humanity ; for a more kind, affable, obliging humour'd people are not to be conversed with, than the generality of them, who have

have been educated amongst the *English*, or other ways well bred : they are capable of the highest improvements in all the liberal Sciences, and ingenious Arts ; that, as *Heylin* saith of them, *if good there is no better, if bad there can be no worse* ; but this cruelty proceeds from these two causes.

1. From the bloody Principles infused into them by their Priests, who persuaded them it was no more sin to kill a Heretick than a Dog or a Pig, nay to *sir J. T. p.* pluck a bone out of a Dogs mouth, Dog being the 78, 85, 87. frequent Epithete they gave the *English* whilst murdering them, and this back'd with a persuasion it was not only innocent but meritorious to destroy them, in order to promote the Catholick Cause, & that they should receive a great share of that vast stock of Indulgences sent over by the Pope for their encouragement, blew their Catholick zeal into such a hellish flame, it put them into such an extasie of joy, they so strove who should most merit, they had no leisure to consider, those innocent *Abels* Bloods would cry to Heaven for vengeance against such cursed *Cains*.

2. As they were persuaded God would reward this labour, so were they confident it would never be in the power of man to punish them ; and that their opinion proceeded from the visible weakness of the *English* Interest, whereby they concluded the total extirpation of it was an easie work ; and observing the Herds, Flocks & Corn of the *English*, with the rich Furniture of many of their Houses, the present possession of which, if they had had no eternal Reward entail'd upon them, was a violent temptation

to a company of Beggers, who little before would have esteemed themselves very rich if they had but two Cows and four Goats of their own; for the Gentlemen who were Officers had their eyes upon the Lands, &c. they left the Plunder much to the Scologues and contented themselves to buy good bargains of them, and they that were confident of obtaining as much more before morning would sell good pennyworths over night, that in a few days thousands of wealthy Families that, as the Prophet saith, *were clothed in Scarlet embraced Dunghils*, had no other rayment to cover their nakednes but thum-ropes of straw, which these jovial Catholicks would fire in a frolick, expressing great pleasure in beholding how those desolate miserable Christians would brisk and fret, or at the best filthy rags thrown away by the *Irish* Beggers, whilst the Beggers themselves, like Dives, were well clothed and *farred deliciously every day*. But now let the Survivors of them sit down and cast up their accounts, did they gain by all this any thing but swift destruction and desolation? what the Sword spared the grievous Famine and dreadful Pestilence devoured, that within less than ten years after their delicious Feast they paid such a dismal Reckoning, they wished they had contented themselves with their own Commons.

About the years 1652, and 1653, the Plague and Famine had swept away whole Countrys, that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles, and not see a living creature, either Man, Beast or Bird, they being either all dead, or had quit those desolate places

ces, that our Souldiers would tell Stories of the place where they saw a Smoak, it was so rare to see either Smoak by day, or Fire or Candle by night, and when we did meet with two or three poor Cabbins, none but very aged men with women and children, and those, with the Prophet, might have complained, *we are become as a bottle in the smoak, our skin is black like an Oyen, because of the terrible Famine.* I have seen those miserable creatures plucking stinking Carrion out of a Ditch black and rotten, and have been credibly informed they have digged Corps out of the Grave to eat; but the most tragical Story I ever heard was from an Officer commanding a Party of Horse, hunting for Tories in a dark night, discovered a Light, which they supposed to be a Fire which the Tories usually made in those waste Countries to dress their provision and warm themselves, but drawing near they found it a ruined Cabbin, and besetting it round, some did alight and peep in at the window, where they saw a great Fire of Wood, and a company of miserable old Women and Children sitting round about it, and betwixt them and the Fire a dead Corps lay broyling, which as the Fire roasted they cut off Collops and eat.

That doubtless the Vengeance of God was as severe upon that bloody Generation, as it was on Edom, Ezek. 25. 12. *Thus saith the Lord God, Because that Edom hath dealt against the House of Judah, by taking Vengeance, and hath greatly offended, and revenged himself upon them:* 13. *Therefore thus saith the Lord God, I will also stretch out mine Hand*

upon Edom, and will cut off Man and Beast from it, and I will make it desolate from Teman, and they of Dedan shall fall by the Sword. 14. And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel, and they shall do in Edom, according to mine anger, and according to my fury, and they shall know my vengeance, saith the Lord God.

And so sensible were the most sober and judicious amongst them of their misery, that about that time they approved this Notion of mine, that it is the Interest of the Irish Papists of Ireland to promote the strength of the English Interest there to that height, that may utterly cut off their hopes of ever notwithstanding it; they might be able to reject all tenders from abroad, and all encitements from their Jesuited Priests at home with this short answer, *Put us not upon impossibilities, and irrational desperate attempts;* we now quietly enjoy our Estates, Lives, & liberties of Religion, so far as can rationally be expected from a Prince of a different communion, with friendship from our English Neighbours, equal protection of the Laws for the peaceable enjoyment of our Estates, and encouragement to trade and planting, &c. And having been so often deluded by you, to the ruine of so many thousands of good Catholick Families, and the reproach of our Religion, we are resolved to run no more such ruining courses, after so many destructive disappointments, that we and our Ancestors have met with by dancing after your pipe. I say, were the English Interest so fortified, that all rationall hopes of extirpating it were removed, the Irish would be out of danger of being prevailed

prevailed with, to make such destructive attempts to themselves and posterities as they have formerly done: for although a considerable number of them may be of desperate fortunes, being Branches of those ruined Families sequestred for former rebellions, to whom War is the best Trade, and Revenge desireable Wages, if they gain nothing, they cannot lose much, but this is not the case of the body of them, there are many of their Nobility and Gentry enjoy plentiful Estates, with the favour and countenance of their Prince, some of whom never quitted the Interest of the Crown in the last 12 years War, and now reap the profit of it: and multitudes of the Commons are wealthy Merchants in our Cities, and rich Farmers in the Country, who although they be strict Papists, yet are friendly and good Neighbours, and just and honest Dealers, who have as much reason to dread a War as the English themselves when out of their Catholick Frenzy, at least on such desperate terms as a well fortified English Interest would render it.

I have discoursed many of them about this last Irish Plot, who have not only blamed but cursed their Priests, for a company of vagrant beggerly fellows, who having nothing to lose, nor any Families to provide for, would hazard the lives and fortunes of others that have both, who desire to be quiet; and that the Priests themselves are not all of a mind, nor act by the same rebellious Principles is manifest by the Discoveries some of them have made, and Evidence they have given against their own Primate Plunket and others lately.

Now

Now from these and the like considerations I argue, it is the Interest of the *Irish* Papists, that are in any tolerable state to live, to promote and strengthen the *English* Interest amongst them to that height, that may render all attempts against it irrational and desperate; which would not only compose their minds to Peace and honest Industry, but discourage Foreigners from invading, when they had little hopes of Welcome or Aid from any of the Natives of Estates or Interest: this would in time wear off all the Jealousies, and remove all Animosities of both sides, that a weak and feeble *English* Interest in *Ireland* will continue and nourish: this would discourage Tories and Wood-Kirnes from robbing and harming the *English* Farmers, if the *Irish* Farmer were convinc'd it were equally their interest to discover and suppress them.

This would encourage the Natives to build and improve upon the Estates they have left, if they were convinc'd, that new Wars and troubles would hazard what they have, rather than restore them to more.

This would encourage the Tradesman and Farmer to their utmost Industry, when they could be assured, that what they thereby attained would be peaceably enjoyed by them and their posterities.

Nay, a potent *English* Interest would be a powerful motive to moderate and dispose the better tempered, and most thoughtful amongst them, to inquire into the Differences about Religion, when they find themselves out of danger of the *Romish* Clergies power, who now keep them in such awe, they

they dare not read the Scripture, nor any Protestant Author, nor confer with any Protestant Minister, least the Priest hear of it, and enjoyn them severer penance than for Swearing, Whoring, &c. And from whence proceed this dread and awe, but from a supposition, it may be possible to retrieve the Popish Interest again, and then they would be subjected to the severe Discipline of the Romish Clergy for their Disobedience and Apostacy ? and multitudes there are, both Papists and others, that would change a dangerous for a safe Religion, if they could be secured there were no danger in the change ; for all Religion founded on humane Laws bind the Consciences no longer than those Laws are in force : and as the Law is altered, so must the Religion, when the fear of man and self-safety, more than the love of Truth and desire to please God, is the motive to profess it.

And nothing is more evident, than that the Fear of God they have, is taught by the Precepts of Men : and therefore comes within the circuit of that vain Worship our Saviour rejects, *Matth. 15.9.* they cannot with *David* stand in aw of Gods Word, the Standard of all Divine Worship, and Rule of all humane Society ; whilst they are prohibited the reading it, it may be well said of them, as Christ saith, *Matth. 22.29.* *Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures :* if their Priests tell them, it is not only lawful, but meritorious, to destroy all Hereticks, yea Heretical Kings, &c. if it tend to promote the Catholick Cause, they must believe them, having never read, that *they that resist the Power resist the Ordinance*

Ordinance of God, and they that resist receive to themselves damnation: if their Priests affirm the Pope is supream over all Princes and worldly Potentates, and hath power to excommunicate and de-throne one and set up another, and from thence all their Subjects are absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, &c. they must believe it, having never read St. Peter, though claimed for their own peculiar Apostle, from whose pretended Supremacy they usurp theirs, who (as if he had foreseen the abuse they would put upon his Doctrine) more expressly declares the Supremacy in the Civil Magistrate than the other Apostles, in his first Epistle, ch. 2. v. 13. *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him, &c.*

So St. Paul, as if he had foreseen the Apostacy of the Roman Church from their primitive Obedience to the Civil Magistrate, is more express in his Epistle to the Romans, chapt. 13. from the 1st to the 19th vers. than to any other Church he writes to, saith he, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers: for there is no Power but of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation:* So that the Pope and his Clergy must prove they are no Souls, before they can prove they are not bound by this Divine Canon: for every Soul is required to be subject.

Object.

Object. If it be as you say, that the Irish Papists in the last bloody Massacre were under no personal provocation to fill them with malice and revenge, nor are depraved in principles of Humanity, but are of a sociable, kind, friendly temper, and capable of the highest improvements in the liberal Sciences, and ingenious Arts; whence is it they have so often been treacherous and bloody, as their Histories declare? If you place all their Faults upon their Religion, you might do well to instance what Points of their Religion render them so dangerous, &c. considering they profess themselves Christians, and own the same God, and believe in the same Jesus, &c.

Answ. It is not the Religion of the Church of Rome, viz. what properly relates to Faith and Worship due to God, but the Policies of the State of Rome that render them so incompatible with civil Order and Society; multitudes of Christians live safely mixed with Turks and Pagans in Asia and Africa, under the Governments of their respective Patriarchs, of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Ethiopia, India, &c. without any dread of Assassinations or Massacres, frequent in Popish Countries; of whom it may be said, as of Manasseh King of Israel, *they have made Cities and Countries to swim with Blood*, witness Piedmont, Bohemia, France, Ireland, Belgia, &c. besides the multitudes destroyed by their unjust Wars in vindication of their usurped Supremacy, &c. whereby Christendom hath been made an Akeldima, and all this from Principles foreign to their own Christianity, and novel to their Church; as was believed

believed in *Gregory the Great's* time, who exploded the Title of Supremacy, &c. as Antichristian; but I shall respite my more particular Answer to the Supplement at the end of this Treatise, whereto I refer all Answers to Objections, being not willing to interrupt the argumentative part, that it is the Interest of the *Irish* to promote the Prosperity of the *English* Protestants in *Ireland*.

And having hinted the miserable Desolation and Ruine a weak and feeble *English* Interest hath encouraged them to bring upon themselves and posterities, and the desperate hazards of an utter Extirpation, if they should attempt another Rebellion; and that an equal Prosperity with their *English* Neighbours they do and may enjoy, if they please: I shall close this Chapter with this Repetition, that if it be more their Interest to be in safety than in danger; to be in equal capacity of Honour and Trust from their Prince with his Protestant Subjects, than excluded; if it be their Interest to enjoy the Fruit of their Labours, and leave their Possessions and Wealth to their Children, rather than to have them possess'd by others; if it be their Interest to enjoy the hearty good Will and Respects from their Protestant Neighbours, rather than their Prejudice, arising from their Jealousie and Dread of being massacred, robbed and spoyled by them; in a word, if it be their Interest to secure to themselves and posterities a settled prosperous state, rather than to be subject to frequent ruine and destruction; then it is their Interest to promote the Prosperity

rity of the *English* Interest amongst them: for whilst that is weak and impotent, these things can never be, at best, not long continue, whilst there is a Pope, that can (not only pardon Rebels and Murderers, but also) approve and applaud the most barbarous actions as meritorious, or a Foreign Popish Prince to encourage and aid them, or a Jesuited Priest to instigate them to it.

If this be the present state of *Ireland*, that the *English* Interest there hath gained so much ground by the last Act of Settlement, &c. What now obstructs its progress to that strength and perfection you propose? *Vide Supplement.*

ff

SECT.

S E C T. II.

*Shewing that above all it is the Interest
of the Protestants of Ireland to promote
the potency of the English Interest in
Ireland.*

IF it be not only the Interest of *England*, but of
the Romanists of *Ireland* to promote the Pro-
sperity and Potency of the *English* Interest, how
much more is it the great Interest of all Protestants
in *Ireland* by all lawful and possible means to do it?
England is obliged more remotely, but the Pro-
testants of *Ireland* more immediate; would you
not see and feel the miseries of 1641. repeated?
would you not see your Wives ravish'd, and In-
fants ript out of their Wombs, your Daughters
deflowered, your innocent Babes barbarously mur-
dered before your eyes, your stately Buildings in
a flame, your well improved and planted Estates
all laid waste, your Princes Authority despised,
and his Laws rejected, your Religion reproached
and suppressed, as a pestilent Heretic? &c. I say,
if these and the like dismal calamities be worth the
avoiding, then let nothing in your power be omit-
ted tending to the promotion and security of a po-
tent *English* Interest, which nothing will so natu-
rally

Chap. 2. OF IRELAND.

tally effect as a vigorous propagation of Trade and Manufacture: it is not your building stately Houses, nor the draining, planting and stocking your Land with the best *English* Corn and Cattle, &c. will do it, your 41. Experience may convince you, all that may be immediately surprised and destroyed by your Enemies, and put them in a capacity to maintain a destructive War against you, but the well planting our Wall Towns, and erecting them where they are wanting, and keeping them in a posture of defence by their own Militia's, which will be ready Receptacles to the *English* Families dispersed in the Country adjacent, and by the aid of the Country Militia's able to embody against an Enemy, that would fortifie the *English* Interest; and this may be easily effected, without much charge to the King or Country, by propagating Manufactures, as I shew at large in that Treatise.

The second Expedient is to procure Laws against single Life, enjoyning all *English* Protestants to marry, the Males before the age of 25. and Females before the age of 22. or from that time to pay a yearly penalty by Statute, to be presented by the Grand Juries, and limited by the Discretion of the Bench not exceeding the eighth part of their visible Incomes, to be employed towards the maintenance of poor Orphans.

1. This would somewhat restrain these abominable Fornications and Adulteries, so frequent, if we would take St. Pauls counsel, *Let every*

The Interest

Man have his own Wife, and every Woman her own Husband, &c. other mens Wives would not be so often debauched, nor our Parishes so charged with Bastards.

2. This would much increase an *English* Breed for the Countries Defence, as I elsewhere shew, ten of whom are worth twenty bred and brought up in *England*.

The neglect hereof gives the *Irish* a great advantage, who are generally more fruitful, and besides inure their Children more to hardness in their Nursings, from whence they generally live; whereas our nice *English* Women destroy their Children by too tender Nursing, &c. that if they live, many of them are good for little, but to make Carpet-Knights on, though they do retain Spirit and Courage, yet their Bodies are so inured to tenderness and delicacy, the hardships of Winter War would kill more than the Sword.

3. This would much tend to the planting our Towns: for single persons content themselves with a Room in anothers House; and Marriage would necessitate them to become House-keepers, and Families would require their Industry to maintain, but while single they live idly, if not debauchedly.

And in order to encourage the meaner sort to marry, to countenance that ancient *English* Custom of Bridals, wherein every person not receiving Alms in the Parish brings in something, according to their ability, towards the young Couples Housekeeping, to the great encouragement

Chap.2. **OF IRELAND.**

ment of painful industrious young people; and obligeth them, whilst single, to be the better Labourers and Servants, that their honest Reports might increase their Bridals.

And further, that a provision be made, where Parents are not able to dispose of their Children to honest Trades, to put them out Apprentices on the Country Charge, which would much tend to the planting of our walled Towns, and promoting the Manufactures, as I shew at large in that Treatise.

But that which would, above all other Expedients, tend to the strengthening the *English* Interest would be, to endeavour a right understanding and charitable Union betwixt all sober pious Protestants in matters of Religion, the want thereof increaseth groundless Jealousies of each other, and strengtheneth the Confidence of the common Enemy to the Protestant Interest, that they are easily run down, as in the Massacre 1641. they at first declared their displeasure was only against the Puritannical party, and then only the *English*, not the *Scots*: but, I suppose, I need not inform you how soon all Protestants became the equal objects of their Fury and barbarous Cruelty.

Therefore by *English* Protestants I mean all that are not Papists, and agree with the Religion established by Law in all its Fundamentals, nay in all its Substantials, that believe the same Creed, and make the same Translation of the Scriptures their Rule of Faith and Manners; and no people

can be esteemed of a different Religion, that agree in what is *Jure Divino*; though they differ in some things that are *Jure Humano*. Although they may scruple external Communion with some particular Churches, yet if they retain internal Communion with the universal Catholick Church in all parts of the world, they are no Schismatics.

Bishop Bramhall's Vindication of the English Church pag. 14, 15. Saith a reverend Prelate, *The Communion of the Christian Catholick Church is partly internal; partly external; the internal Communion consists principally in these things, to believe the same entire substance of saving necessary Truth revealed by the Apostles, and to be ready implicitly in the preparation of the Mind to embrace all other supernatural Verities when they shall be sufficiently proposed to them, to judge charitably one of another, to exclude none from the Catholick Communion and hope of Salvation, either Eastern, or Western, or Southern, or Northern Christians, which profess the ancient Faith of the Apostles and primitive Fathers, established in the first general Councils, and comprehended in the Apostolick, Nicene and Athanasian Creed, to rejoice at their well-doing; to sorrow for their Sins, to condole with them in their sufferings, to pray for their constant perseverance in the true Christian Faith, for their Reduction from all their respective Errors, and their re-union to the Church in case they be divided from it, that we may be all one Sheepfold under that one great Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls: and lastly, to hold an actual external Communion with them in votis,*

Chap. 2. OF IRELAND.

rotis, in our desires, and do endeavour it by all those means which are in our power. This internal Communion is of absolute necessity among all Catholicks, p. 16.

But, saith he, there is not the like degree of obligation to an exact Communion in all externals, there is not so great a Conformity to be expected in Ceremonies, as in the Essentials of Sacraments, &c. in the Explication of Articles of Faith, as in the Articles themselves, nor in the Superstructures as in Fundamentals, &c. p. 17. nor in Scholaistical Opinions as in Catechistical Grounds, not to Ecclesiastical Constitutions as to Divine Ordinances, not such a strict adherence to a particular Church as to the universal.

So in his Answer to the Bishop of Chalcedon, Essentials must not be pressed too far, least we draw out Blood instead of Milk, &c. it doth not follow, because true Faith is essential, therefore every point of true Faith is essential; or because Discipline is essential, therefore every part of right Discipline is essential; or because Sacraments are essential, therefore every lawful Rite is essential, p. 4. Whatsoever toucheth not the Heart of Religion is not Schism, p. 8.

Saith my reverend Author, 'Tis a preposterous Zeal, like Hell, hot without Light, that makes different Opinions different Religions, in his Answer to S. W. p. 40.

Who please to read this learned Author in point of Schism will find, that he differs from those fiery Zealots, that dare affirm Schism to be a greater Sin than prophane Swearing, Drunkenness, or

Whoring, &c. but by the same rule they like the Religion of Bellarmine, Suarez, Vasquez, &c. (for they say so) better than Bishop Hall, Sanderson, Usher, Bramhall or Taylor; for not only they, but all the pious Divines I have read of the Church of England are of another Opinion; most of the sober Dissenters in Ireland will submit their Cause to be weighed in these Protestant Scales, and own themselves for Schismaticks if their Character condemn them: and it is required by the Divine Law, *Lev. 19. 36. Deu. 25. 15.* that all men buy and sell by the same Weights and Scales: divers Weights and Ballances are abomination to the Lord, *Prov. 11. 1. 20. 10.*

But neither the Numbers nor the Parts of this sort of Antischismatiks are so considerable, but our Quakers, Muckletonians, &c. may match them; who will extend Idolatry, Popery, Superstition and carnal Worship as far beyond their due bounds, &c. as they do criminal Schism; that I shall leave them to agree upon the invisible Evidence of their unscriptural Principles, and only plead for a charitable Union betwixt the sober and pious of both parties.

And as they agree in all essential positives, the same Creed, the same Scriptures, the same Sacraments, &c. so in all reforming negatives they protest against all Popish Errors, either relating to Faith or Worship, contained in the first Protestantation of the German Churches, or is since protested against by any of the Protestant Churches in the world, and that with more vehemency, which makes

Chap.2. OF IRELAND.

makes them not the less Protestants.

They protest against all the old Heresies of the *Arians*, *Socinians*, *Grosticks*, *Nestorians*, &c. so that both in positives and negatives the difference is little in Substantials betwixt Dissenters and the Protestant Church of *England*: they maintain not only internal Communion with the universal Catholick Church, but internal and external with the Protestant Church of *England*.

They do not only make the same Scriptures the standard of Faith, Worship and Manners, but highly esteem of, and bless God for, the many famous Lights the Church of *England* hath produc'd, for the propagating Gospel Principles, and converting Souls to Christ; they put the highest value on their learned Writings, next to the sacred Scriptures, and esteem their Expositions, Annotations, &c. the most Orthodox in the world; they retain a venerable memory of all her Confessors and blessed Martyrs, and are ready, if God call them to it, to seal the Truths they dyed for with their dearest Blod; they bless God for, and heartily rejoice in, all her learned and pious Bishops and Ministers, that now are, and daily pray that God would increase their Numbers and bless their Labours in his Work, and grieve for all the Reproach and Dishonour brought upon the Church by ignorant and scandalous Ministers, &c. they agree with the Church at least in 36 of the 39 Articles, and are therefore doubtless of the same Religion. The Jews had their several Sects, as the Pharisees, the Sadduces, the Herodians,

ans, Essins, &c. but were all owned as *Israelites*, if they adhered to the Law of *Moses* and the Prophets, notwithstanding their Interpretation and Observation in some things of weight were different.

Some of the German Protestant Princes are *Lutherans*, and others are *Calvinists*, and their Subjects mix'd in their Dominions of both Persuasions: yet they own each other for Protestants, the *Lutheran* Princes have the same confidence in their *Calvinist* Subjects as in their *Lutheran*; and the like on the other hand; they all firmly unite to aid and assist their respective Princes against their Popish Adversaries, if National Interest interpose not; whereby the Protestant Interest in *Germany* becomes formidable, and potent: and yet the difference in Opinion betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* is far greater than the difference betwixt English Protestants and the generality of Dissenters.

The Papists themselves, who glory much in their Unity, have their *Jansenists*, *Dominicans*, *Molenists*, *Jesuits*, *Scotists*, and several Orders, whose Differences are more momentary by far than any of ours, some of them even to the shaking of the bottom of their very Faith, as might be evidenced in their disputes about the Subject of Infallibility, some placing it in a Council, as the Councils of *Basil* and *Constance*, others in the Pope, as the Councils of *Lateran* and *Trent*, some in both; yet they own each other of one Religion. Dr. Willet in his *Synopsis* fol. 1325 to 1352 incerts 307 Controversies

Chap. 2. OF IRELAND.

troversies amongst the Papists, many of them repeated by Dr. Stillingfleet, vid. his *Divisions of the Romish Church*, from pag. 353 to 471. And as they have these many distinct Sects maintaining contrary Opinions amongst their Clergy and Votaries; so betwixt the Clergy and Laity, as is at large asserted by Bishop Taylors *Disswasive from Popery*, Bishop Jewel, and Dr. Stillingfleet ch. 4, and 5. and the *History of the Council of Trent*, fol. 33, 39. 44. wherein you may read the bitter Contests about Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction betwixt Pope and Pope, the Popes and the Emperors of Germany, Kings of Spain, France, Portugal, States of Venice, Italian Princes and States, &c. producing bloody Wars, &c. and yet were all esteemed Roman Catholicks.

But admit this were not the case, but the Dissenters were as opposite in Principle and Interest to the Protestant Church as the Papists, that they esteemed them all damn'd Hereticks, and their Religion a pestilent Heresie, and that it were not only lawful, but meritorious by all possible means, whether by War, Massacres or Assassinations, to destroy them, as the Enemies of God and holy Church; yet they could not be dangerous to the Common-wealth, because of the paucity of their Numbers, and Indepency of their Interest: if the Papists were as few in number, and had as few Noblemen and persons of Interest to head them, and no Foreign aid to back them, more potent, nor neerer than Maryland, all men would esteem it ridiculous for the State to maintain a po-

tent

tent Army to secure the Interest of the Crown against them, or to observe the Protestants in dread of being destroyed by them, especially if this small number of Papists were so far divided in their Opinions, there were no probability of their ever agreeing which Faction should sway the Scepter, having no Family or person that made the least pretence to a right of Sovereignty : I say, if this were the case we should laugh at persons dreading Popish Plots and Rebellions, as we do at our little Children when they point to their own Shadows, and cry a Bug-a-bo ! and yet this is the best capacity the Dissenters of *Ireland* are in to disturb the State : and if so, surely those Watchmen are blind of one eye, at least, that warn the State to beware of Puritans, &c. as more dangerous than Papists : For, admit Dissenters were persons of dangerous Principles & considerable Interest, there are few of them of despicable Fortunes, the poorest of them by their painfulness in their Callings and frugality have Bread to eat, and Rayment to put on, and most of them live comfortably by their Industry ; and some of them enjoy plentiful Estates by Title from the Crown, whereby they are equally engaged with others to preserve the Peace, and support the Interest of it, until their case be as desperate as blind *Sampsons*, when he pull'd down the House on his own head to be revenged on the *Philistines* for his two Eyes, I see no reason they should be esteemed dangerous to the Peace of *Ireland* ; but rather a great additional strength both to Church and State, both against Foreign

Foreign Invasions and intestine Rebellions; they own no Government nor Jurisdiction that is foreign, nor any other but that which the Laws of the Land have established, to which they have sworn Allegiance, and are and will be subject not only for Wrath but for Conscience sake, so far as answers the great end of Government: few prudent Statesmen but will judge it is the Interest of the State of *Ireland*, considering its circumstances, not only to continue their Indulgence towards those they have, but to declare a Toleration of all Protestants of what Nation or Opinion soever principled, as before is declared, which has been the Practice of all Princes and States courting Trade; as I shew at large in the the *Chapter of the Policies of Trade*.

I never read of any Prince or State that persecuted their dissenting Subjects, but from one of these considerations.

1. From Conscience, to propagate Truth and suppress Error; but this way of converting Souls by Prison, Banishments and Death I read not hath been much in use with Protestant Princes or States since the Reformation.

2. Or Jealousie of the Safety of their Interest, and in this case it is irrational, for any sort of Dissenters, Papists or others, to expect Protection from that Prince, or State, to whom they will not give the best Security in their power of their Allegiance and peaceable deportment. The States of *Holland* and *New England*, who pretend the highest to Liberty, exact it: and it is a Principle

ciple in Nature for every Being to provide for its own safety, much more for that Being on whose safety all others depend.

Therefore it is not only the Duty but the Interest of all Dissenters, not only to give the utmost security for their Loyalty in their power, but to avoid all occasions of appearing engaged in any Faction that may happen in the State: for though the matters controverted be only of a civil nature, and have no tendency to Religion, but rather the safety of the State, and Honor of the Prince; yet that side Dissenters shall generally appear for will be reflected on by Churchmen, if not by Statesmen, to design some Faction against the Government; that were I to choose a Parliament man, or a Magistrate of a City, &c. I would neither give my Vote for a Dissenter, nor for a profane debauched Conformist, if there were a sober, pious, good Church-man to be had.

2. As Dissenters in prudence ought to be of no Faction in a State, so to avoid all manner of just provocations toward the Governors, whilst they enjoy the liberty of worshipping God in the way their own Consciences dictate, it is not reasonable they should expect the liberty of reflecting on that Religion the Law of the Land establishes, by which they are indulged: there is little ground to believe any of the godly persons we read of, as *Joseph* and *Moses* in *Pharaohs* Court, good *Obadiah* in wicked *Ahab*, *Daniel*, *Nehemiah* and the three worthies, &c. in *Babylon*, the Christians in *Cesars Household* did

did carry themselves offensively towards their fellow Courtiers, much less towards their Princes they served, though most of them Pagans: it is not rational to suppose any of those good men reprobred or censured the Religion of their Princes publickly: but it is manifest they made a publick profession of their own, and more vehemently when it was most dangerous so to do; as *Daniel* when the King published his Decree, *Chapt. 6.* and *Obadiah* when by the instigation of *Jesabel Ahab* persecuted the Prophets, and *Mordecai* and *Esther* when *Hammon* contrived the destruction of the Jews: but whilst they were permitted quietly to enjoy their own Worship, I do not find they either writ or spoke against the Religion of the Country they were in: and *St. Paul* disapproves it, being accused by *Tertullus* the Orator before *Felix* for a mover of Sedition, and profanating the Temple, &c. *Acts 24. 6.* he denies the Charge, v. 12. saith he *they neither found me in the Temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the Synagogue, nor in the City, &c.* but this I confess (saith he) *by the way they call Heresie, so worship I the God of my Fathers, v. 14.* that is, I meddle not with their Religion, nor matters of State, but practice my own, I only preach the Gospel of Peace and walk as becomes it: so in his second Arraignment before *Festus*, *chap. 25,* *chap. 18.* he makes his defence thus, *neither against the Law of the Jews, neither against the Temple, nor yet against Cesar have I offended any thing at all, &c.*

Now

Now if these things had not been faults St. Paul would not have endeavoured to vindicate, but rather have justified himself; he was no time-server nor man-pleaser, *1 Thess. 2. 4.*

So in his third Arraignment before *Agrippa*, *chap. 26.* how humbly and condescendingly did he express himself, as before to the other two, and when the King told him, *too much Learning made him mad*, *v. 24.* or a Fanatick, he humbly replied, *I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak the words of truth and soberness.*

Now if these things be written for our learning, how unlike it is, the spirit and behaviour of such Christians under sufferings for Conscience sake, that think they can never bear a faithful Testimony, except they do it stubbornly and rudely? therefore let Dissenters, who wish well to the common Protestant Interest, be cautious whilst they pres after Gospel Purity they break not the bonds of Gospel Unity; and whilst they seperate from what they judge humane, to be wary, they reject not what will prove divine Worship, though there may be a just and pious Separation, as *Bishop Bramhall* (before cited) delares.

Yet there may be also a sinful Schism, as every particular Sect allows, when it is from themselves; and an Error in Schism will be found a greater Sin when it proceeds from Pride of mind and Self-conceitedness, than an Error in Conformity when it proceeds from Charity and a godly fear of sinning on the other hand.

There-

Therefore it is safest to separate from things rather than persons or Churches, to own every Church so far as they own the Truth, and only separate from what is in your Consciences manifest Error and Superstition, Bish. Bramhall p. 271.

Go as far as upright Conscience will give leave to manifest a love to Union and an hatred of Division; and that it may appear you separate not through Stubbornness and Faction, but singly to maintain a good Conscience towards God, and that with all Christian Charity and Humility towards others, especially your Superiors: this would suit with St Peters Advice *to be ready always to give an account to every man of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear*, 1 Pet. 3. 15. and secure you from suffering as evil doers and busie bo-dyes, &c. *for it is better, if the will of God be, that you suffer for well doing than for evil doing*, saith St. Peter 1 Epistle 3. 17.

If I be censured for this part of my Discourse by the peevish and censorious of both sides, for a Digression from a Subject of promoting Trade and Wealth; yet when the more moderate and judicious consider the influence of our Divisions and Jealousies fomented by rigid uncharitable persons of both parties, they will vindicate me, and allow that the uniting of Interest in point of Religion, so far as to beget a mutual confidence in each others Integrity to the common Protestant Cause, will tend much to the strengthening the hands of our Protestant Governors; and also remove Jealousies, and beget a satisfaction betwixt

Affinters and Dissenters that they will never be dangerous one to another : and till this be obtained I see no ground to expect the Protestant Interest of Ireland can ever be potent, nor ever flourish in Trade and Wealth, for these Reasons.

1. The common Enemy to our common Religion and civil Interest will still be hoping the Divisions amongst our selves will at last open a door for them to destroy us all ; and that expectation deters them from that Industry in Manufactury and Traffick, which otherwise, for present profit sake, they would more vigilantly promote, and the more moderate of them joyn Interest with the united Protestants in preserving our common Peace.

2. No greater Discouragements can lye in the way of foreign Manufacturers, and Merchants coming to settle amongst us, than suspicion our Divisions should cause a disturbance of the Peace ; which the least apprehensive must discern would be an evident ruine to the whole, and consequently to themselves, if they should settle with us.

3. Nothing more disheartens the English from engaging in such Manufacturies and Trade as would fix their Estates on a spot they could not remove from, than a sense of danger from our Divisions, lest some particular Dissentors or Sect should misbehave themselves towards the Government, as to provoke them to put a general Restr^{ic}tion upon the Liberties of the whole, and thereby necessitate them to quit the Country, and so lose all their Improvements.

I might

I might multiply particulars to manifest the Damage our Jealousies and Animosities on the account of our Divisions in Religion threaten, and the great Advantages a charitable Union would produce to the security and prosperity of the common English Interest of Ireland.

But being satisfied all moderate and charitable Christians are of the same opinion, I shall submit what I have offer'd to their Judgment; and howsoever I am censured for this weak Essay, I shall comfort my self in the Integrity of my heart to the common Welfare of the Protestant Interest of Ireland and submit the Blessing to God.

CHAP.

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1600

the distinction of admittance, which begin to be made in proportion to the growth of our Empire, and Government, C H A P. III.

The third Expedient to recover the languishing state of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth is, to assert Irelands Interest in its own Government.

THAT it is not only the Interest of Ireland, but of the Crown and Realm of England, that Ireland be governed by its own members, or persons peculiarly interested in its prosperity, is manifest.

Although it will be granted to be Irelands great advantage, to have not only their Lord Lieutenants but most other Ministers of State sent from England, provided they then purchase, plant, and settle themselves and Families in the Country ; for no other Expedient will advance the Prosperity, and strengthen the English Interest in Ireland like it : For if the Noble and Worshipful Families of Ireland would examine the original of their first Ancestors in that Kingdom, few would be found that came over on purpose to purchase or plant, but rather encouraged to transport themselves for the sake of publick Imploys, either Civil or Military ; but most by the later: every new Rebellion called over new Troops and Companies, to strengthen the standing Army to suppress it; and at the end of every War were garrison'd and quarter'd in those Countreys, where the Insurrection was first raised, or had been most powerful, and in places most con-

convenient to secure the future peace, where they obtain'd Grants of forfeited Lands, and from thence after some time of settlement of themselves and Familys, their Soldiers would marry, and take Farms, or set up Trades, and so erect English Plantations in the most dangerous Irish Countries, where none but Souldiers with their Swords in their hands, or others under their shelter durst adventure to plant.

Therefore it was a rational project at the end of the last War, in order to promote the English Plantations.

1. In the disbanding part of that Army, to pitch upon such Troops and Companies as were best acquainted with the Country, and most likely to plant their Lots ; and then to give some of them peculiar advantages by select places for their incouragement, whereby many of the reduc'ted Troops and Companies had the advantage of the standing Army, who were confin'd to their Lots.

2. To contrive the planting of the Country by the standing Army, by instructing the Officers to encourage their Souldiers to marry, and plant about their Garrisons, and Quarters, especially if Tradeſmen, and past their middle age : and then once in 2 or 3 years to change their Quarters at a good diſtance from the place; whereupon the married Souldiers that had settled their Familys would petition to be diſmift, which much increas'd English Plantations, who for their incouragement were continued in Muſter ſix months Duty free : and whilſt Pay is to be had a General ſhall never want Souldiers, and young beardleſſ Lads that have nothing to care for,

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but to keep their Arms fixed, and their Knap-sacks furnished, are the best Souldiers for a Field-Army, and so esteemed by all Authors I have read: and whilst a Troop or Company retains one half old Souldiers, *viz.* File-leaders, Half File-leaders and Bringers up, the young Souldiers will do as well as others to fill up Files, and after a few months careful Exercise will be as ready for any Service, and perform their parts equal with the rest: for though Experience and Skill is necessary in Officers, yet Courage and Subjection are the more necessary Qualifications in private Souldiers; which none like the young stripling, who is lately come from under the severer Discipline of Family Government, to whom Military Discipline seems easie: and these having no Wives nor Children to cry after them, &c. are the freest from care, and consequently the readiest at the Beat of the Drum to march where and whensoever they are commandanted.

The neglect of this was the ruine of the *English* Interest the last Rebellion, the standing Troops and Companies consisting much of the Officers Tenants, &c. could not be drawn together at short warning, without exposing their Families and concerns to the merciless mercy of the Enemy; whereas had they been qualified as beforementioned, the King might have had a marching Army, and the Country a standing Militia consisting of the same Inhabitants, march'd from them in the Kings Pay, to have stood by them, and defended them, at least, against the small parties of straggling Cut-throats, by whom the greatest number of the naked

naked *English* were massacred: therefore it is the Interest of this Kingdom, it should be penal in the Officers of the Army to enlist and muster any of the settled Inhabitants capable of serving in the Militia; for thereby the Country is weakned in its Military strength, and the King disappointed of a marching Army: whereas were all persons thus qualified disbanded, and the Officers prohibited listing such, without special License from the General, you would soon have the Foot Companies filled with young brisk Lads, who would throng out of *England* for Entertainment, which would more tend to increase and strengthen the *English* Interest in *Ireland* than any other Expedient that can be proposed.

As it is the Interest of *Ireland* to give encouragement to *English* Protestants to come and enjoy Military Impositions and Preferments among them; so is it the same for Civil and Ecclesiastical Impositions, provided still they settle and abide with us.

But that which is the Grievance of this Kingdom is, that either Military or Civil Impositions should be enjoyed by Nonresidents, or otherwise persons who only come over to enjoy the Profit of their Office, and so soon as they have received what Benefit it affords, to return for *England*, and carry their Gains with them; of which sort, *Ireland* has most suffered by *English* Chief Governours, and *English* Farmers and Commissioners of the Revenue, and their Attendants and Dependants coming and returning with them; the Damage sustained

by this Kingdom in the period of 15 years thereby is computed in the Chapter of *Irelands* involuntary Charge and Expence.

And that which I shall further endeavour to demonstrate is, that it is not only its damage in respect of the Charge *Ireland* sustains, but many other ways inconvenient and prejudicial.

1. For the chief Governour, though there might be some reason of State in times past, why they should not only be of *English* Blood, but *English* by Birth and Interest; yet the case is altered now: and the Act of Parliament in the 10th. of Hen. 7th. that none but such as were born in the Realm of *England* should be Constables of the Castles of *Dublin*, *Trim*, *Athlone*, *Leislip*, *Carlingford*, *Wicklow*, &c. had no respect to the civil & politick Government, but the Execution of penal Laws upon Offenders, those Castles being made use of as Prisons to secure dangerous persons in, which is declared in the body of the Statute, viz. *Which Castles have been negligently kept/ and such as have been committed to the Constables or Keepers of them for Treason/ Felony/ &c. suffered to escape wilfully/to the great prejudice of our Sovereign Lord/ and of all the said Land;* therefore be it ordained and enacted/ &c. so that other Act 23d. of Hen. 8th. to regulate the Election of the chief Governour, by the Council on the death of the Lord Lieutenant, &c. until the Kings pleasure was known, did not respect preferring *English* by Birth before *English* by Blood; but to secure the Sword from unfit Hands, who by their power-

powerful Interest might awe their own Election, and be mischievous before the King could declare his pleasure; as appears by the said Act *, as fol- * *Irish Stat. fol.* loweth; **The said Counsellours have full power and Authority by vertue of this** 214. 215. **Act/ to elect and chuse one such person as shall be an Englishman, and born within the Realm of England, being no spiritual person/ to be Justice/ and Governoz of this Realm of Ireland, during the Kings Highness Pleasure / if there shall be at that time any such person within this Realm/ &c. if not/ then to elect and chuse two persons of the said Council of English Blood and Sirname/ being no spiritual person/ &c. which I cite to refute that vulgar Error, that the Lord Lieutenant, &c. must be born in *England*, because otherwise he is not capable of governing in the Castle of *Dublin*; whereas the Office of Constable is a distinct inferior thing from the Governor of the Castle: but whatever reason of State former times might have, the case is otherwise now: for, as it is shewn in the Chapter of *Englands Interest in Irelands Prosperity*, the state of the *English Interest in Ireland* is changed, from a weak infirme state, that needed Physick, to a strong healthful state, that only requires Food; the Propriety of Lands, the Plantation of Cities and strong Towns inhabited and governed by *English*, the Countries so planted with *English*, as all our High Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, &c. all *English*, and the *English Laws* are duly and equally in all parts executed**

by English Judges and Officers &c. the majority of both Houses of Parliament English, all which was never the case of Ireland before ; that Ireland now needs nothing but diligent Endeavours to corroborate and improve its advantages, which none but such who are acquainted with its Humour and Constitution, and thoroughly interested in its prosperity are capable of, for these reasons.

1. Being unacquainted with intelligent persons of the several Parties, they cannot understand the various and different Humours and Interests of the people : indeed if the Inhabitants were all Irish Papists, or all English Protestants, or were these two grand parties of entire Interest among themselves, their work were more easie ; but as they have each their grand Interest and bond of Friendship ; the Papists the Interest of their Church, by whose aid and countenance they expect their Succour ; and the Protestants the Interest of their Prince, by whose Authority and Favour they enjoy all they possess : yet they have each amongst themselves their different and peculiar Interests, both Religious and Civil ; as I shall after shew.

And a Chief Governcur unacquainted with persons and things will find it difficult work to carry himself to the equal satisfaction of all parties, with Security to the Government, and Incouragement of Trade, &c.

2. The short continuance, sometimes two, sometimes three years, rarely four ; we had three in less than eight years, viz. from the Lord Roberts entring September 18th. 1669. to the Earl of Essex's surrend-

render August 24th. 1677. so that by that time they understand their Work, they are called from it: saith Borlacy, *The vicissitude of Governours hath been observed (by some) to be exceeding prejudicial to the publick; private Respectts often introducing notable things in the State, according to their Interests who governed, not the publicks, diversi Imperatori- bus mores, diversa fuere studia, sometimes to the degenerating of the old English into the Irish customs, through their negligence, and indulgence, other times to the alienating the Irish by their severity, from the benefit of a well tempered and orderly Government, both equally destructive to the Prince.* And yet too long a Residence in so eminent a Place may over-heat a great Spirit, if not bounded with excellent Principles. Whence the Romans (those great Masters of Government) rarely admitted their Vicegerents to brood on a Province, that their Continuance there might not increase Self-interest.

The longest time any continued in this Government (how honourable soever) was never made up with Happiness suitable to the anxiety of their Mind and Body: Sir Henry Sidney (who left as clear a Fame as any man that enjoyed the Place) parted with it with the words of the Psalmist, When Israel came out of Egypt, and the House of Jacob from a people of a strange Language, Judah was his Sanctuary, and Israel his Dominion; intimating how little satisfaction could be took in so slippery a Place, amongst such a people, whose Language he knew not, and variety of Interests; though the most that have miscarried there, have fallen through other

mens Interest rather than their own failing.

And I judge the three last Noble persons sent out of *England* to govern *Ireland* will set to their Seals, that it is not a short and easie work to understand their Humour and Interest; none of them could please all, and others of them very few; although they were persons of eminent Parts and great Integrity, both to the Crown and *English Interest*: yet the Interest of our Trade and Manufactures so withered under their Shadow, that they languish to this day; of fourteen hopeful Manufactures they found thriving, they left but the stumps of one standing; which hath put such a Damp upon the hopes of Success, none have attempted either to erect new, or revive the old since.

2. They oft come with a prepossession of the danger of *Irelands* encroaching upon the Trade and Wealth of *England*, and from thence rather fear than design *Irelands* prosperity in Trade; and what our chief Governor fears we have little ground to hope for;

3. As the proverb is, New Lords, new Laws; so new Governors, new Councils; it is to be observed the Successor very rarely elects the Favourites of his Predecessor to be his Confidents; and then that natural Emulation the Heart of man is addicted to diverts them from building on Foundations laid by others; whereby some publick undertakings after a hopeful progress have miscarried, to the great discouragement of future Attempts;

tempts; as several notable Instances might be given if it were convenient.

4. By reason of their immediate Relation to, and probable sudden Return for, *England*, they are most concerned so to manage the Affairs of *Ireland*, as may consist with the present advantage of their Credit in *England*. Now though we honour a Lover of our Country, as being *Englishmen* our selves, and glory in its Honour and Wealth, as younger Branches in the Honour and Wealth of the elder House of their Family; yet we may expect a younger Brothers Portion; and to be trusted with the Conduct of our own Estates, in Subjection to our politick Father; and not under the Tutelage of our elder Brother: When *Abraham* sent his Sons he had by *Keturah* from *Isaac* Eastward, and gave them Portions, he left them to manage their own Affairs.

We do not read that ever the Sons of *Isaac* or *Jacob* were entrusted with the Affairs of the Children of *Ishmael* and *Esau*, though they enjoyed the Birthright and Blessing; and it is none of the least Discouragements to *English* Gentlemen, that have great Estates in *Ireland*, from coming to live upon them, than that by quitting their Dwellings in *England*, they quit their Priviledge as *Englishmen*, both in respect to their Liberty of Traffick to several parts of the World, which they before enjoyed, and also their Interest in *Magna Charta*, of being tryed

being tried for their Lives and Estates by a Jury of known honest men of their Neighbourhood: whereas Noblemen or Gentlemen of *Ireland* may be impeached in *England*, sent for over in custody, and there arraigned before Judges, put upon their Tryal by Jurors, whose Faces they never saw before, and unto whom they are altogether unknown, further than the Evidence then given in Court describes them, which is an Issue few would be pleased with when it comes to be their own case; especially considering the moral impossibility for persons of ordinary Estates to bear the Charge, and of small Interest to prevail with necessary Witnesses, &c. to go from *Ireland* to *England*, to give their Testimony in their behalf; and to imagine that either Judges or Jurors of *England* can be equally concern'd to suppress Treason, and Sedition, tending to the disturbance of the Peace and Safety of the *English* Interest in *Ireland*, with *English* Judges and Jurors of *Ireland*, appears very improbable, to such as admit Self-safety is a stronger motive to all people than Neighbors welfare: and though *England* may be grieved to hear of *Ireland's* Troubles, yet the *English* in *Ireland* must certainly more sensibly feel the Misery that befalls themselves. A Merchant on shoar may be grieved to behold a Ship (wherein he hath some Adventure) sinking by a violent storm at Sea; but the Merchants and Mariners aboard, that see no way to escape from perishing with her, must be under a different consternation; which represents the true State of the different case.

2. As

2. As there is much Reason of State against Irelands being governed by Foreigners to its peculiar Interest; so have we many Presidents, both ancient and modern, of Sovereign Princes governing their Tributary Provinces by their own Countrymen; the King of Spain discerning the Genoua's were discontented at his governing them by Spaniards, &c. and impatient for a King of Naples and Duke of Milan born in Italy; to secure his Interest without that hazard, he borrowed of them vast Sums of Money, they being great Usurers, designing thereby to keep them in awe, lest they should lose their Money; so the Kings of England could never satisfie the Welshmen until Edward of Carnarvan (being their Countryman born) was made Prince of Wales; which hath since been the Title of the Kings eldest Son.

God himself promiseth it, as a chief part of Israels Prosperity after their return from their Captivity, *that their Nobles should be of themselves, and their Governours should proceed from the midst of them*, Jeremiah 30. 21. which Promise was performed in Ezra's, Nehemiah's and Zerkabal's Government: so Moses appointed understanding and wise men, who were known amongst their Tribes, to be Rulers in their respective Tribes, Deut.

I. 13. Saith a great Statesman to King James, To hold Ireland in better obedience, let there be sent over such a Lord Deputy as is well acquainted with their Humours and Customs, and well beloved of the people*: saith the same Author, *The Spaniards lost the Low Countries by sending Spaniards or other Strangers* ^{* Sir Hen. Wootens State of Christen-dom. p. 2. 18.}

*Strangers to govern them, having engaged to govern them by men born in their own Country *.*

Sir Hen. Wootens And how much this hath been the practice of the *State of Christen-dom.* p. 17. Kings of England, to place persons peculiarly interested in the State of Ireland in chief Government, our Histories give us ample examples : *Earl Strongbow*, the first *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* 1176. was *Prince of Leinster*, by right of his Wife ; *Reymond le Gross*, who married the Earls Sister, succeeded him as Justice ; *John Courcy, Robert Fitz Stephen*, and *Miles Cogan*, Adventurers with *Strongbow* in the first Attack, and possessors of Lands for their Service, succeeded him ; next to them succeeded *Hugh de Lacy* and *Robert le Power*, both interested persons in Ireland ; *Le Power* being then Governor of *Waterford* and *Wexford*, was possest of

Cambden of Ireland. a great Estate in those Countries * ; and *Hugh de Lacy* marrying the Daughter of *Rodorick King of Connaght*, had a considerable Interest in Ireland by her right ; the King still approving interested persons fittest to govern Ireland, that designing to send over his own Son *John*, he first made him King of Ireland to give him a peculiar Interest in that

Hoven-den p. 77. Kingdom † : from his time, being anno Dom. 1185. until *Lionel Duke of Clarence* 1361. near 200 years, that *Edward the Third's Son* was sent over, who by right of his Wife was *Earl of Ulster*, and *Lord of Connaght*, I find Ireland governed, for the most part, by *Butlers* of the *House of Ormonde*, *Fitz Morris*, *Fitz John*, *Fitz Gerald*s, &c. of the Houses of *Kildare* and *Desmond*, with *Woggans*, *Barrys*, *Powers*, *Bourkes*, *Burninghams*,

&c. and in intervals by Dignitaries of the Church, or other Ministers of State in *Ireland*; I find very few but either had considerable Interest in *Ireland*, or otherwise settled on them at their sending over, or purchased by them in the time of their Service, and settled there with their Families.

In all which time we read of very few Factions, until that of *Desmond*, who raised a Dissension betwixt the *English* of Blood and *English* of Birth; which bred such ill Blood in his own Families Veins, as boyled up to the ruine of it: afterwards, in the Queens days 1583. and from the time of the Duke of *Clarence* 1361. until 1385. the Earl of *Oxford* was created Duke of *Ireland* and Marques of *Dublin* at his coming over, of Twelve Lord Lieutenants and Deputies, &c. in that time, not above two or three at the most, but *Butlers*, *Gerralds*, &c.

Next *Richard* the Second sent over *Mortymer* Lord Lieutenant, but first created him Earl of *Ulster*, Lord of *Trim*, *Clare* and *Connaght*, 1398. from him until the year 1449. I find not above four or five, viz. Sir *John Stanly*, *Scroop*, *Sutton de Gray*, &c. and they but short times, but persons of *Ireland*, viz. *Talbots*, *Gerralds* and *Butlers*, the later six times in this short space of about fifty years.

Then was *Richard* Duke of *York*, being Earl of *Ulster*, Lord of *Connaght* and *Meath*, by Descent from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, Lord Lieutenant,

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But for a more distinct Account of Irelands Chief Governours since the Conquest, I shall refer the Reader to the ensuing Catalogue, as I find it recorded by *Borlacy, Spencer, Campian, Hanmer, Marlburroughs, Hooker, &c.* wherein I have only noted some few remarkable things that happened under some of their Governments, designing only a brief Catalogue of both sorts, to make good my Position, that the Policy of *England* hath still found it best to govern *Ireland* by its own Members, or persons peculiarly interested in its prosperity. But this is observable, when Noblemen, &c. were sent out of *England* to govern *Ireland*, it was not of choice, but rather of necessity; as in these and the like cases.

First, to ballance Factions amongst the English Lords of *Ireland*, when their animosities grew so high that Interest of State required a more indifferent Hand at the Helm; which proceeded from their great Power ruling their Tenants, &c. as Sovereign Princes over large Territories, by the *Brehon Laws*, whereby multitudes both of *English* and *Irish* more depended upon their Favour than the Kings: but that sort of Lordship is utterly extinguished root and branch, the greatest Lords of *Ireland* are as subject to the Kings Laws as the meanest man, and the whole Militia of the Kingdom under the Kings immediate Commission and Pay: therefore that Reason ceaseth.

Second Reason was, to ballance Factions in the Court of *England*, especially in the Barons Wars, and in the Contest betwixt the two Houses of *York* and

and Lancaster, &c. but the two Roses now are not only grafted, but so well grown upon one stalk, that danger is over.

Thirdly, in times of considerable Rebellions, when either of these two Reasons swayed.

1. When the Work required persons of greater Experience in Martial Affairs, than it was supposed *Ireland* afforded: but *Ireland* is now so well furnished with Noble persons of approved Courage and Conduct, that it is able to supply *England*, if the Kings Affairs should require it, with Officers from the Truncheon to the Halbert, to conduct a Royal Army.

2. When the great Lords of *Ireland* were in Factions one against the other, especially those of English Race; as the *Geraldines*, and *Butlers*, &c. which two Houses mantained an inveterate Feud for several Generations; yet by turns were chiefly employ'd by *Henr. 7th.* and *8th.* till the *20th.* year of the Raign of *Henry the Eighth*, *Thomas* the Son of *Gerald Earl of Kildare*, then Prisoner in the Tower, broke out into Rebellion; from which time the King sent over English Governours during his Life, as *Skeffington*, the *Lord Gray*, *Brereton*, *St. Leger*, &c. which course his Son *Edward the Sixth*, and both his Daughters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth* imitated him in, for the most part; the like King *James* and *Charles the First*: but the reason thereof must be attributed to the Change or rather Reformation of Religion; most of the Noble Families of *Ireland*, capable of chief Trust, still adhering to the *Roman Superstition*, and consequently

sequently uncapable of promoting a Protestant Interest, which case is now otherwise, most of the ancient Nobility of *Ireland* are Protestants, as may appear in my Schedule of *Irelands* Nobility; and as that reason of State is ceased, so hath the practice since. About two years after the Rebellion, Jan. 1643. James then Marques now Duke of *Ormonde* was sworn Lord Lieutenant; since which time, being 39 years Jan. last, he hath born the Honour of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, except from the 18th. of September 1669. the Lord *Roberts* entred, until the 24th. of August 1677. the Earl of *Essex* surrender'd, not full eight years; so that the Duke hath born the Honour 31 years, and actually exercised the Regency 19 years, being interrupted about 12 years, viz. from December 1650. he left *Clanrickard* Deputy, until the 28th. of July 1662. when His Grace was again sworn Lord Lieutenant; and as he hath exercised the longest Regency, so hath he had the most difficult Work of any chief Governor since the Conquest: First, Commander of an Army for some years under great wants, the hardest task to a noble spirited General. Secondly, Fighting against a people he desired and endeavoured the Welfare of, that would not believe him until they found it to their cost, that their Ingratitude and Treachery to him and their Princes Interest, that he asserted, fell upon their own pates. Thirdly, Fighting for a Prince in no capacity to support him, much less to reward him; yet when his Princes State and Affairs were at the lowest ebb his Loyalty was at hihgest,

at

at full Sea, rejecting the greatest proffers of Liberty and Estate from the Parliament, and chose Poverty in Exile with his Prince before it ; as is elegantly express'd by *Orinda*, fol. 150.

*You who three potent Kingdoms late have seen
Tremble with fury, and yet stedfast been,
Who an afflicted Majesty could wait
When it was seemingly forsook by Fate,
Whose settled Loyalty no storms dismayd,
Nor the more flatt'ring mischiefs could dissuade.*

Yet their Proffer did him so much right as to declare to the world his Services in *Ireland* were esteemed by *Englands* Commons (in their worst humour to the Royal Interest that he served) as useful to the *English* Protestant Interest there ; but from these and the like causes the Crown of *England* hath had its Counsels more perplexed, and its attempts for *Irelands* Reduction and Settlement more obstructed by its own people in *Ireland* than by the *Irish* themselves, since the time of *Edward* the Sixth, viz. by the viciscitude of its Government being so often under the Regiment of persons that were Aliens to its peculiar Interest, and strangers to its Humours and Customs : it is not rational to suppose the most judicious States-man in the world can understand the Interest and Humour of a Country he never saw before, proportionable to another that hath track'd it from end to side, who must see by others eyes where to place Garrisons and Quarters for the most Safety and

Quiet of the Country, how to understand the humour and capacity of persons fit to be employed in the Kings Service civil or military, who are the most dangerous persons, which the most disquiet people, to have an eye upon, &c. I say, there are many necessary points for a chief Governor to know not to be learn'd in three or four years time, the usual length of our Lord Lieutnants, &c. Regency; and where persons have neither time to understand their Work, nor to fit and whet their Instruments they must work by, what performance can rationally be expected?

In *Spencer Eudox* propofeth to *Iren* how many Men would be a competent Army to reduce and keep *Ireland*? he demandeth ten thousand Foot and one thousand Horse: saith *Eudox*, *Where will you garrison and quarter them for the safety of the Country?* saith *Iren*, *Perhaps I am ignorant of the places, but I will take the Maps of Ireland and lay them before me, and make mine eyes my Schoolmafters to judge of the place;* and then proceeds to garrison and quarter his Men by the Map. Saith *Eudoxus*, *This might do if you knew where to find the Enemy;* but it is well known, he is a flying Enemy, hiding himself in Woods and Boggs, &c, from which he will not be drawn forth, but into some streight passage, or perilous foard, there will he lie in wait till he find an advantage, and then will endanger your Army: therefore to seek him that flincheth, and to follow him that can hardly be found were vain and bootless. *Spencer pag. 68.*

So *Geraldus Cambrensis Chap. 38.* to the same

pur-

purpose compares the Difference between the French and Irish Wars, shewing how far Souldiers trained up in Campaign Countries, fighting pitched Battels with their Enemies always in sight, would be to seek in *Ireland*, where the Enemy rarely imbodyes, but at great advantages, but must be driven out of their Fortresses of Woods and Boggs, &c. where heavy Armour and Weapons were more cumbersome than useful; But, saith he, such Souldiers as are in the Marshes of Wales, who by reason of continual War are of great experience, and valiant, who can endure any pains and travails, who can abide watching, hunger and thirst, &c. such kind of Souldiers were they who first conquered Ireland, and by such must it be fully subdued and kept.

Obj. Why do you term English Protestants Aliens to *Irelands* Interest, are we not all the Subjects of one King, and Members of the same Commonwealth.

Answ. We may be the first, and not the second, though the Scots are Subjects to the same King, yet Members of a distinct Commonwealth, that as *England* makes Laws to secure their Trade from *Scotch* Invasions, so doth *Scotland* for the securing theirs from *English* Retrenchments.

So the twelve Tribes of *Israel* were all the Children of one *Abraham*, and the Subjects of one *David*, yet had they their distinct Interest peculiar to each Tribe; the members of one Tribe were never admitted to bear rule, or enjoy the beneficial Offices of another; the Mosaical

and judicial Law were expressly against it, Numb. ch. 1. v. 4. And with you there shall be a man of every Tribe : every one Head of the House of his Fathers, ch. 13. v. 2. ch. 34. v. 18. Deut. 1. 13. which Statutes of Israel were observed in Davids time, 1 Chron. 8. 1. and by his Son Solomon, 2 Chron. 8. 2. and so continued to the end of that Kingdom; which were no ways ceremonial, but moral, that every man and every Country that had not forfeited their Birthright might enjoy the privilege of it. And not only Divine but Humane Laws and Policies have still observed the same, where the Interest of the Prince or State was not hazarded : the most ancient Monarchies, as the *Affyrian*, *Persian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman* practised it in all their tributary Countries, still committing the management of the civil and military Governments of their new conquer'd Countries to the Colonies they sent to plant and gurd them, though they consisted not of their own Countrymen ; as for instance, the new planting of *Samaria* was by people of divers Nations, Ezra names nine, ch. 4. v. 9. as the *Dinaites*, the *Apharsathchites*, the *Tarpelites*, the *Apharsites*, the *Archevites*, the *Babylonians*, the *Susanchites*, the *Dehabites* and the *Elamites*, and the rest of the Nations, whom the great and noble Afnapper brought over, and set in the Cities of Samaria : yet these several Nations being upon the place, incorporated into one common Interest against the Jews, were all intrusted with the Government and Safety of the Country ; as appears by their joint Letter sent to the King, to inform him of the danger of his

his Interest in that Country, if he suffered the *Jews* to repair the Walls of *Jerusalem*, he would not only lose his Revenue, but his Dominion in *Samaria*, *vers. 13.* compared with the *16th.* which they esteemed themselves bound to inform him of *being maintained from the Kings Palace*, that is, they enjoyed the profitable Offices and Implications of the Country, for which they received their Salaries out of his Exchequer.

And from hence it was *Paul* pleaded the privilege of a *Roman*, *Acts 22. 25.* who was no otherwise a *Roman*, but as he was born of a member of a *Roman Colony* sent to *Tarsus* to plant, and secure the Country to the *Roman State*, and thereby were endowed with the privilege of *Roman Citizens*, to oblige them to Fidelity and Serviceableness against the Natives, who were never trusted with the Safety of the Victors Interest in their own Country, unless they submitted, and became Tributaries under Compact before conquered. Not only these ancient but our modern Monarchs practice the same, as the *Grand Seignior*, and the *German Empire*, consisting of many distinct Principalities and States ; yet all governed by their own Princes and Senators, except what are in slavery ; and they by those Colonies sent to plant and keep them under : the like are the Principalities and States of *Italy* under the Papal Regency ; which I hint to vindicate my Assertion from Novelty, it having been the universal Policy in all Ages and Countries ; as all that are acquainted with History must grant.

But the case of the *English* in *Ireland* is far before these other cases, they are not only *English* by privilege, as *Paul* was a *Roman*, but *English* by Blood, and many of them *English* by Birth; they are so far from being a conquered, or a tributary people, that they are the Conquerors, by virtue of whose Blood, and the Blood of their Ancestors, the Scepter of *England* is there swayed; and the chief Security the Crown of *England* hath for its Regency is the Strength and Potency of the *English* in *Ireland*: 1000 men raised for the Defence of *Ireland* of its own Inhabitants is worth two (for the suppressing a Rebellion) of new raised men out of *England*; for besides their subjection to the Diseases of the Country at first, which usually destroy a great part of them before they have been six months in the Field, they have no motive to encourage them, nor Interest to fight for, but Honor and Profit; whereas the other, who have their Title from the Crown for every Acre they possess in *Ireland*, are more engaged to secure the Interest of the Crown, than the King himself is theirs; few of the forfeiting *Irish* look so far as the King, who reassumes and disposeth of their Estates, but eye with indignation the present possessors; as was manifest in the last horrid Massacre, whilst they barbarously murthered the possessors of their Estates, they both by Addresses, and publick Remonstrances asserted their Loyalty to the King: and though the Kings Interest at present suffer, yet the Recovery of it is secure so long as *England* and *Scotland* can raise Souldiers to pour in upon them.

But

But the Subjects, whose throats are cut, and their Houses and Improvements destroyed, Wives and Daughters ravished, and Children murthered, can have no reparation in this world; and such as do escape with their lives are utterly ruined in their Fortunes, oft constrained to sell a good part of their wasted Lands in the *Irish Quarters* for a third part of its value, to procure Mony to preserve them and theirs from starving. Now the Survivors to these Families are doubtles above all other people engaged to preserve and recover the Interest of the Crown in time of War, and consequently most merit to enjoy the profitable Im- ployments of the Country in times of Peace, being every way more engaged and better qualified for the Kings Service there, than *pro tempore* persons who have no obligation upon them, but their present Honour or Profit, that if the Kingdom be lost under their Conduct, if they can but preserve their Lives and Honours, they lose nothing that pincheth afterward; whereas the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Ireland*, some of which having Princely Estates, may be reduc'd to extremity of want, of which we had many woful presidents the last Rebellion; and all the Politicks I have read esteem desperate hazard and danger will make a Coward valiant; (therefore advise to make a flying Enemy a golden Bridge) much more engage the Hearts and Hands of persons of Honour and Courage, when they they do not only fight for the King and their Country, *but for their VVives and Children, their Houses and Lands*, as Nehem.

4. 14. they cannot forget how many of their Wives and Daughters were ravished, and innocent Children murthered in the sight of their dearest Relations and Friends, and from thence will rather dye than fall into the Hands of such bloody miscreants, whose tender mercies are cruelties, which is not the case of new English.

Spencer pag. 8. treating of Military Officers puts a great weight upon employing Officers acquainted with the Country, saith he, *The Reducing of Ireland will ask no long time, nor great charge, so as the effecting thereof be committed to men of trust, and sound experience in the Country: but if left to such raw Captains as are usually sent out of England, &c. it will fall to the ground, &c.* for before they have gather'd Experience they shall buy it with great loss to Her Majesty, either by hazarding their Companies by ignorance of the places and manner of Irish Service, or by losing much time to take out their lesson, &c. besides, saith he, *there is a great wrong done to the old Souldiers, when the Advancement due unto them is cut off, by shuffling in these new cutting Captains into the places for which they have long served, and well deserved:* To say the truth (saith he) me thinks it is meet before men be made Captains, they should be first Souldiers, pag. 84. for men thoroughly acquainted both with the state of the Country, and manners of the people, should be still continued, pag. 85.

Saith Livy, *The Romans could perform nothing memorable in their Conquest of Sicilia whilst they frequently changed the Commanders of their Army,* because

because new Commanders spent so much time in their new preparations, chusing their Ground, and insinuating themselves into the old Souldiery, they had no time left for the management of their Affairs before they were removed; but to prevent their Consuls from being removed from the head of their Armies, being annually chosen, they chose a Dictator, Liv. Supplement, 79.

And that this hath been the Opinion of all our Kings of *England*, since the Conquest of *Ireland*, will more evidently appear by the ensuing Catalogue, formed in two Columes, to distinguish betwixt *English* and *Irish* Chief Governots; only note that such of them as are in the *English* Colume,

1. If they be sent again we esteem them of *Ireland*, and place them in the *Irish* Colume, supposing they were therefore sent because of their experience in and knowledge they have gained of the Country by their former Service, &c.
2. I do also esteem all of the Royal Line interested persons, and therefore place them in the *Irish* Colume.



A Catalogue of the Chief Governors of Ireland, from the first Conquest to the Year 1680. by which may be observed, that persons related to, and acquainted with, and interested in Irelands Welfare have been most employed in its Government by the Kings of England.

FFrom 1167. unto 1170. was spent by Strongbow and his Assistance in vindicating the Quarrel of Mac Murrogh King of Leinster, &c.

1171. The King, jealous of Strongbows potency, comes towards Ireland, Strongbow meets him at Gloucester, surrenders all his Conquests to his Dispose, returns with him to Waterford, from thence to Dublin, to whom all the petty Kings and great Lords of Ireland submit, and swear Fealty; the King returns for England, and leaves Hugh Lacy Lord Justice, to interest him gave him Meath in Fee.

Irish.

English.

Henry the Second.

Anno 1172. Hugh de Lacy Lord Justice, Spell.

331.

O'Rourke Prince of Meath, &c. rebels, Lacy in great danger rescued by Maurice Fitz Gerald, who killed O'Rourke. Hamm. 139.

Irish

Irish.

English.

**1173. Earl Strongbow
L Warden of Ireland,**

By right of his Wife Prince of Leinster, found all in confusion, but with the aid of Raymond le Gros reduceth them to subjection, *Hann.* p. 140.
1175. Strongbow dics. Camp. 64.
 Donald Prince of Leinster rebels, all in confusion, *Camp. 65*

**1177. Raymond Le
Gros L. Protector,**

Brother in Law to Strongbow, subdues Donald, and relieves the Citie of Dublin.

1177. Fitz Andelm L.J.

Courcey, Fitz Stephen and Miles de Cogan his Counsellors, *Han.* p. 157. The Ancestors of the Bourks, now Earl of Clanricard, *Cambrensis* chap. 17. Courcey subdued Ulster, the Kingdom of Cork settled on Fitz Stephens and Cogan in Fee, Fitz Stephens the Ancestor of the Barrys of Cork.

**1179. Hugh Lacy and
Robert le Power L. J.**
 Power the Ancestor of the Powers of Waterford.

Irish.

Irish.

1181. Hugh de Lacy
Governor, *Hollinshead*.

O Connor King of Connacht re-
bels with 2000 men, *Lacy* sub-
dues him and marries his
Daughter, after slain by a
Scologh in Meath. *Hook*. p. 60.

1185. Earl John the
Kings Son made King of
Ireland and sent Gover-
nor, *Hovend*. 1187.

This young Prince, with his
Counsellors, ran all into con-
fusion. Young Arms make
good Souldiers, but young
Heads ill Counsellors: Wit-
ness *Rehoboam*, &c.

1185. John de Courcey
Earl of Ulster Gov.

Chose by the King to be his
Champion against a French-
man who quitted the Stage
and run, being frighted by
the grim looks and great limbs
of *Courcey*. *Hanner* p. 181.

Richard the First.

1189. Hugh de Lacy
the younger L. J.

1190. Dublin burnt to ashes.
Hann. 179.

English.

1181. John Constable
of Cheshire and Richard
de Peck Justices, *Ho-
vend*. p. 685.

1184. Philip de Brees
Governor.

Irish

Irish.

1191 William Marshall
and William Pettit Just.
Marshall by right of his Wife
Strongbow's Daughter Prince of
Leinster, who built the Castle
of Kilkenny, and gave the
Town a Charter, *Hann.* 183.

King John.

1199. Myler Fitz Henry
the Kings Son Governor. *Han.* p. 183.

1210. K. John *in person*
Composed all Differences,
settled Affairs and returned.
Camp. 75.

1213. Henry Laundres
Arch-Bp. of Dublin L. J.
Built the Castle of *Dublin*.

Henry the Third.

1214. St. Patricks Church
founded by Comins Arch-Bp.
of *Dublin*. *Camp.* p. 76. 6000
Scots under *Bruce* invade *Ireland*.

1215. Geoffery Marisco

English.

1197. Hamo de Valis
L. J.

1210. John Gray *Bishop*
of Norwich L. J.

He reformed the *Irish Coin*
to the Standard of *England*.

Irish.

Irish.

English.

Keeper of Ireland, with
Sir Edmond Butler L. J.
Connacht up in Arms, Fitz Gerald built the Castle of Sligo.

1219. Bishop Laundres
and Maurice Fitz Gerald
L. J. Han. p. 189.

1220. Meath in Arms, the
Castle of Trym builded, the
Irish generally rebel, 11000
slain in Connacht by the Bourkes
and Berminghams, Bruce routed
near Dundalk, Birmingham for
his good Service created Earl
of Louth, Baron of Ardee and
Asbenrie.

1227. Rich de Burgo L. J.

1230. The Provost of Dublin
made Mayor.

1232. Maurice Fitz Gerald L. J.

1233. Richard Marshall
Brother to William L. J.
Slain in Battel near Kildare.

1245, Sir Jo. Fitz Geoffrey L.J.

1247. Theobald Butler

Irish.

Irish.

*Lord of Carick and Joh.
Cogan L. J.*

1259. *Stephen de Long
Espee L. J.*

1267. *Sir David de Bar-
ry L. J.*
Who subdued the *Mac Cartys*,

1270. *Sir James Audley
Constable of Ulster L. J.*

1272. *Maur. Fitz Mau-
rice L. J.*

1273. *Geoffery Lord
Genevil L. J.*

*Lord of Meath by right of his
Wife.*

1276. *Sir R. de Ufford
the second time L. J.*

1279. *Bish. of Waterf. L. J.*

1280. *Dublin burnt, Strongbow's
Tomb spoiled by the fall of
Christ-Church when on fire,
Camp. p. 78. Meath rebels.*

English.

1255. *Allen de la Zouch
L. J.*

*O Neils of Ulster and Mac Car-
tys of Munster rebel.*

1260. *William Dean L. J.*

1261. *Rich. de Rupella
L. J.*

1266. *A great Earthquake
Hook. p. 62.*

1268. *Sir Robert de Uf-
ford L. J.*
A great Dearth & Mortality.

1269. *Ricardus de Exo-
nia L. J.*

Irish.

Irish.

English.

1282. Stephen de Fulborn L. J.

1288. Arch-Bp. of Dublin L. J.

1290. Will. Vesey L. J.
Who to interest him in the prosperity of Ireland had given him the Manner & Lordship of Rahangan, &c. in the County of Kildare, but engaging himself against John Fitz Gerald Baron of Ophaly lost himself, and the Baron sent back first Earl of Kildare, and Vesey's Estate conferred on him.

1307. Knights Templers for their Debauchery dissolved, Knights of the Road constituted, Camp. p. 80. Connacht in Arms.

1308. Lord Bourk L. J.
The Ancestor of the House of Castle Connel and Leitrim.

1309. Lucan Bridge built.

1312. Sir Edmond le Butler Deputy.

He unites the Earls of Ulster and the Geraldines, who caused great troubles, and subdu'd the Rebels of Connacht. Camp. 82.

Irish.

Irish.

English.

1314. *Lord de Verdon*

L. J.

Had a great Estate in Meath
in right of his Wife. *Hook. 62.*

1314. *Sir Edmond le
Butler, Earl of Carrick*

L. J.

Subdued the Irish at Castle-
Dermot..

1317. Roger Mortimer
L. J. but the Lord Ber-
mingham General.

Bruce invades Ireland, Ulster
joins with him overrun the
Kingdom, soon after subdued

1318. Will. Fitz John
L. J.

1320. *Earl of Kildare*
L. J.

He built Loghlin Bridge: the
Pope granted the priviledge
of an University to Dublin.

1321. *Lord of Athenry*
L. J.

Slain with others by Mac Go-
bagon.

1322. *Ralph de Gorges*
L. J.

I i

Irish.

Irish.

English.

1323. Sir Jo. Darcy L.J.
The Irish universally rebel,
vanquished by James Earl of
Ormond, & Bermingham hang-
ed. Camp. 88.

1327. Earl of Kildare
L. J.

1328. Prior of Kilmain-
ham. L. J.

In his time the Geraldines,
Butlers, Bermingham at vari-
ance with the Powers and
Bourks, a Parliament sum-
moned to accord them.

1329. Sir John Darcy a
second time L. J.

Irish of Leinster in Rebellion.
Camp. 87.

1330. Prior of Kilmain-
ham L. J.

1331. Sir Anthony La-
cy L. J.

A great slaughter by the Eng-
lish of the O Connors, &c. in
Leinster. Marlborough 210.

1332. Sir John Darcy
a third time L. J.

Great slaughter on the O'Briens
& Mac Cartys in Munster. Marl.
p. 211.

Irish.

English.

1333. Thom. de Burgh

L. J.

1336. On St. Lawrence day ten thousand Irish slain in Connaught. *Marlb.* p. 212.

1340. Prior of Kilmainham L. J.

1344. Sir Ralph Ufford
Husband to the Countess of Ulster L. J.

Desmonds first discontents, *Ufford* died unlamented by his ill Government. *Hook.* 71.

1346. Sir Roger Darcy
L. J.

1346. Sir John Maurice
L. J.

In whose time *Desmond* made a dissention between the *English* of Blood and *English* of Birth.

1348. Sir Walter Birmingham L. J. John Archer Dep. *Camp.* 90.

1337. Sir John Charleton L. J.

The *Irish* generally rebel, are quell'd by the Earl of *Kildare* and *Desmond*. *Camp.* 88.

1341. Sir John Maurice
L. J.

Irish.

1349. Sir Walter Birmingham L. J.

1349. Baron Carey L.J.

1351. Bishop of Limerick L. J.

The Ulsters rebel, and subdued by the savages. Camp. 30.

1355. Earl of Desmond L. J.

1356. Sir. Tho. Rooks by a second time L. J.

1359. James Butler Earl of Ormond L. J.

He married the Grandchild of Edw. the first, for which his Son James was styled, by way of preheminence, the Noble Earl.

1360. Earl of Kildare L.J
Appointed 500 l. per ann. Salary, and required out of that to maintain 20 great Horse for War. Hook. 72.

English.

1349. Sir Tho. Rooks by L. J.

Whose saying was, he had rather drink out of Wooden Cups, and pay Gold and Silver for his Liquor, than drink out of Gold, and make wooden payment; a man of sincere and upright Conscience, faith Camp. 91. he would be deemed a precise Fop in these days.

1357. Sir Almerick de Sancta L. J.

Irish.

Irish.

English.

1361. *Duke of Clarence*
Lord Lieutenant.

The third Son of *Edw.* the
third, Earl of *Ulster* and Lord
of *Connaght*, he vanquished
the *Obrians*, &c. and conquer-
ed the County of *Clare*, from
which he derived his Title of
Clarence.

1364. James *Earl of Or-
mond* L. D.

1365. Sir Thom. Dale
Governor.

1367. *Earl of Desmond*
L. J.

1369. Sir William de
Windsor L. L.

1371. *Earl of Kildare*
L. J.

1370. A great Mortality in
Ireland.

1374. Sir William de
Windsor L. L.

1372. Sir Robert de
Ashton L. J.

1376. James Butler *Earl
of Ormond* L. L.

1379. John de Brom-
which L. J.

Richard the Second.

1381. *Dean of St. Pa-
tricks and Lord Chancel-
lor* L. J.

Irish.

English.

1383. Philip de Courtney, L. L.

1385. Robert Vere Earl of Oxford, Marquess of Dublin and Duke of Ireland L. L.

Of whom Cambden records, he died in great anguish and penury, leaving nothing to his Tomb but Titles, nor to the World, but matter of talk of his ill life.

1385. Sir John Stanley L. D.

1387. Bish. of Meath L. J.

1389. Sir John Stanley L. J.

1392. James Earl of Ormond L. J.

1394. Duke of Gloucester. L. J.

1394. King Richard the Second in person.

He landed at Waterford with four thousand men at Arms and thirty thousand Archers, left Roger Mortimer Earl of Ulster, Lord of Trym, Clare & Connaught L. L. slain by the O'Briens.

1398. Roger Grey L. J.

Irish

Irish.

English.

1398. Duke of Surrey,
the Kings Brother, L. L.

1399. King Richard 2.
the second time.

Who came to avenge Mortimers Death. In this Year broke out that bloodie War betwixt the Houses of Lancaster and York, from which time not only England but Ireland were divided into two powerful Factions; the Geraldines stood by the House of York, and the Butlers by the House of Lancaster; the King returns, soon after loseth his Kingdom and Life.

1403. James Earl of Ormond L. J.
Chose by the Noblemen of Ireland.

1405. Gerald Earl of Kildare L. J.

1406. Stephen Scroop L. D.

1407. James Son of the former Earl of Ormond L. J.

Henry the Fourth.

1399. Sir John Stanley
L. L.

1401. Stephen Scroope
L. D. to Thomas of Lancaster the Kings Son.

Irish.

English.

1408. Thomas of Lancaster, the Kings Son, L. L. left Thomas Butler Dep.

The Sword given to the City of Dublin, the Provost made Major.

Henry the Fifth.

1413. The said Butler continued L. J.

1413. Sir John Stanley L. L.

The Ancestor of the Earls of Derby.

1414. Crawley Arch-Bishop of Dublin L. J.

1414. Sir John Talbot L. L.

In whose time Ireland supplied the King with 1600 men, to assist him in his Wars with France.

1419. Richard Talbot Arch-Bishop of Dublin L. J.

Irish.

*Irish.**English.*

1420. James Butler *Earl of Ormond L. L.*

His Grandf^r James, surnam'd
the *Chast*, near Athy vanquish-
ed the Armie of the O Moors
and Mac Morroughs, &c. quell-
ed the O'Briens in Leinster, the
Bourkes, Mac Mahons, &c. in
Thomond, in three months
time. *Camp. 97.*

Henry the Sixth.

1423. *Earl of Ulster L. L.*

And died of the Plague.

1425. John *Lord Talbot L. J.*

1426. James Butler *Earl of Ormond L. J.*

And died at *Ormond-Place* in
London.

1427. *Sir John de Grey L. L.*

1428. Edward Dantsey
Bishop of Meath Dep.

1428. *Sir John Sutton L. L. Sir Tho. Strange his Dep.*

Irish

Irish.	English.
1432 Sir Christopher Plunket L. D.	
1435 Sir Thomas Stanley L. L.	
1436 Talbot Arch-Bp. of Dublin L. D.	
1440 James Earl of Ormond L. L.	1438 Lyon Lord Wells L. L.
1443 Earl of Ormond L. L.	1441 Sir William Stanley L.D.
1447 Talbot Arch-Bp. of Dublin L. J.	1441 Stephen Scroop L. D.
1449 Duke of York L.L. In Meath the Rebels burnt several Towns and Villages, destroyed Men, Women and Children without mercy. Camp. 99.	1442 Will. Wells Dep. to Lyon Lord Wells.
1450 Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire Lord Treas-	1446 Earl of Shrews- bury L. L.

Irish.

Irish.

English.

*Surer of England L. Dep.
to the Duke of York.*

1454 *Arch-Bishop of
Ardmagh L. D.*

1454 *Earl of Kildare
L. D.*

1454 *Sir Edward Fitz
Eustace Lord Deputy to
the Duke of York.*

1456 *Earl of Kildare
Lord Deputy.*

1459 *Richard Duke of
York, Earl of Ulster
and Lord of Connacht,
Lord Lieutenant.*

Who contracted with the King for Two thousand Pounds
per annum, with the *Irish Revenue*, to support the Govern-
ment ten Years. The Nobility of *Ireland* increasing in
Factions betwixt the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; many
destroyed, whereby the *Irish* grew troublesome, forcibly
possessing the Estates of the *English* in *Ulster, Munster and
Connacht*.

Edward the Fourth.

1460 *Earl of Kildare
Lord Justice.*

Irish.

Irish.

English.

1461 Sir Rowland Fitz Eustace, *Lord of Portleister and Viscount Baltinglass*, Lord Deputy to George Duke of Clarence.

1463 Thomas *Earl of Desmond* Deputy to the *Duke of Clarence*. Beheaded for exacting Coin and Livery.

1471 Thomas *Earl of Kildare* L. D.

1475 *Bishop of Meath* Dep.

1478 Sir Robert Preston L. D.

1479 *E. of Kildare* L.D.

1483 Edw. 5. Rich. 3.

1485 *The said Earl of Kildare* L. D. to John de la Pole, *Earl of Lincoln* L. L.

The Imposture Lambert Simnell made a Disturbance in Ireland.

1467 John *Lord Tip-
toft Earl of Worcester*
L. D.

1478 *Lord Grey* L. D.

Irish.

Irish.

English.

Henry the Seventh.

1492 Fitz Simons *Arch-Bishop of Dublin L. D.*

1493 Preston *the first Lord Viscount Gormans-town L. D.*

1495 Henry Dean *Chancellor of Ireland L. J.*

1496 Girald *E. of Kildare L. L.*

The *Obrians, Mac Nemarras, o Carylls, &c.* with the greatest Power of *Irish* seen together since the Conquest up in Arms, routed and slain, not one *Englishman* lost. *Camp. 105*

1501 Henry *Duke of York, after King Hen. 8. L L. Earl of Kildare D.*

1503 Fitz Simons *Arch-Bishop of Dublin L. D.*

1491 *Duke of Bedford L. L.*

1494 *Sir Edward Poynings L. D.*

Sent over to quell the Imposture *Perkin Warbeck*; who in a Parliament at *Drogheda* the 10. of *Henry the Seventh* past that Act called *Poynings Act*; quell'd the *O Caryls, Mac Nemarras and Obrians* in the County of *Galloway*, received the Honor of the Order of the Garter, &c. for his Reward. *Hook. 79.*

Irish.

*Irish.**English.**Henry the Eighth.*

**1509 Earl of Kildare
continued.**

This was he of whom the King spake, If all *Ireland* cannot rule this Earl, then this Earl shall rule all *Ireland*. *Campion 107.*

**1513 Girald the Son of
Girald late Earl of Kil-
dare L. J.**

In his time the 23. of Hen. 8. it was enacted, that none should be elected L. J. but an *Englishman* born in *England*, except by Patent from the King.

**1515 Lord Visc. Gor-
manstown L. J.**

**1515 Earl of Kildare
continued Lord Dep.**

In order to unite the Families, married his Sister with *Pierce Butler Earl of Offery*, *Campion 107.*

1519 Sir Thomas Fitz

Irish.

Irish.

English.

Maurice of the House of Kildare L. J.

1521 Earl of Ormond L. D.

1524 Girald Earl of Kildare L. D.

About this time the Geraldines arrived to their greatest height of Power, and the Butlers to the greatest height of Spirit against them; but the Earl of Ormond more politick, and of a cooler temper, gained ground, and ran Kildare out of breath. *Campion 106.*

1526 Thomas Fitz Gerald of Leislige and Richard Nugent Baron of Delvin L. J.

1528 Pierce Butler E. of Offery L. D.

1532 Girald Earl of Kildare L. D.

1520 Earl of Surrey L. L.

Ulster in Rebellion. *Campion 108.*

1530 Sir Williana Skiffington L. D.

Vanquished the Tools and the Bourns. *Camp. 107.*

Irish.

Irish.

English.

1534 Thomas Son to
the Earl of Kildare L.D.

Who upon a false Report of his Father, then Prisoner in the Tower, was beheaded, tauntingly threw up the *Insignia Regalia*, killed the Arch-Bishop of Dublin, defied the King and his Authority, proclaimed open War, destroyed and burnt all before him, none resisting till the *Butlers* raised their Country to oppose him; upon which he wrote a Letter to his intimate Acquaintance and Cousin *James Butler*, whose Answer thereto is so loyal, pertinent and smart, I esteemed it worth a place amongst my Annotations, as a good Pattern for young Noblemen to write by, when under the like temptation.

Taking Pen in hand to write to you my resolute Answer, I muse in the very first line by what Name to call you, my Lord or my Cousin, seeing your notorious Treason hath defamed your Honour, and your desperate Lewdness shamed your Kindred; you are so liberal in parting Stakes with me, that a man would ween you had no right to the Game, so importunate in craving my Company, as if you would perswade me to hang with you for good fellowship: and think you that James is so mad to gape for Gudgeons, or so ungracious to sell his Truth for a piece of Ireland? Were it so (as it cannot be) that the Chickens you reckon were both hatched and feathered, yet be thou sure, I had rather in this Quarrel dye thine Enemy than live thy Partner. Camp. 119.

1534 Sir William Skif-
fington L.D.

Irish.

Irish.

English.

1535 Leonard *Lord Grey Lord Viscount Graney in Ireland L. D. Thomas Earl of Kildare, &c. tainted.*

1540 Sir Will. Brereton *Baron of Loghlin in Ireland L. J.*

1543 Sir William Braazon L. J.
The Cavenaghs rebel.

1544 Sir Anthony St. Leger *the second time L. D.*

James Earl of Ormond, at the Kings desire, saileth into Scotland to aid the Earl of Lenox, returns to London, himself and fifty of his Servants poisoned at a Supper, of which eighteen died, he by Will ordained his Heart should be interred in Ireland; on whom was made this Epitaph; (vid. Hook. 105.)

*The living Heart, where lay ingraven,
The care of Country deer,
To Country liscless is restor'd,
And lies ingraven here;
Now heartless lives his Country then,
Alas! what Joy is left,*

K k

Whose

*Whose hope, whose hap, whose heart he was
Till Death his Life bereft ;
What Honour then is due to him,
For him what worthy Rite,
But that each heart with heartiest love
His worthiest Heart requite.*

My Author gives him this character, A man no less politick in Peace than valiant in War , that as he would not begin any Martial Broil rashly or unadvisedly , so he would not seem to put it up lightly or easily .

*Irish.**English.*

1546 Sir William Bra-
bazon a second time L. J.

Edward the Sixth.

1547 Sir Anthony St.
Leger L. D.
He subdued the Byrns, Tooles,
C Conners, &c.

1548 Sir Edward Bel-
lingham L. D.
Dublin Bailiffs made Sheriffs.
Camp. 123.

1549 Sir Francis Bry-
an Marshal of Ireland L.
Just.
Elected by the Kings leave.

Irish

*Irish.**English.*

1449 Sir William Bra-
bazon *the third time*
L. J.

The Cavenaghs then in Re-
bellion.

1550 Sir Anthony St.
Leger *a fourth time* L.D.
He subdued the Cavenaghs.

1551 Sir James Crofts
L. D.

Ulster King at Arms first in-
stituted, and the Liturgy
printed and enjoined to be
read in *English.*

1552 Sir Thomas Cu-
sack and Sir Garret Ayl-
mer L. J.

Queen Mary.

1553 Sir Anthony St.
Leger *the fifth time* Lord
Deputy.

1557 Hugh Corwin
Arch-Bishop of Dublin

1556 Lord Radcliff Vis-
count Fitz Walters L.D.

K k 2

Irish.

Irish.

English.

and Sir Hen. Sidney L.J.

1557 Sir Henry Sidney Treasurer of Ireland L.J.

Shane O Neal rebels.

Queen Elizabeth.

1558 Radcliff Earl of Sussex L.L. Sir Henry Sidney his Dep.

Subdued the O Connors, O Moors, O Dempseys, &c:

1559 Sir William Fitz Williams L.J.

1559 Earl of Sussex returned L.L.

Shane O Neal submitted. Champion 125.

1561 Earl of Sussex L.L.

1565 Sir Henry Sidney L.D.

Shane O Neal attainted and the Name extinguished in Parliament: the Presidency of Munster and Connacht were instituted.

1565 Sir Nicholas Arnold L.J.

Irish.

*Irish.**English.*

1567 Dr. Weston *Lord Chancellor and Sir Will. Fitz Williams Lord Treasurer of Ireland L. J.*

1568 Sir Henry Sidney L. D.

1571 Sir William Fitz Williams L. D.

1575 Sir Henry Sidney L. D.

1578 Sir Will. Drury L. J.
Desmond rebels.

1579 Sir Will. Pelham L. J.
Rescued *Carickfoyle* from the Spaniard.

1580 Lord Grey L. D.
Who drove the 700 Spaniards and *Italians* out of *Kerry*, and destroyed them with the *Irish* that joined with them.

1582. Adam Loftus *Arch-Bishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, with Sir Henry Wallop Treasurer of Ireland L. J.*

Desmond surprised, and his Head sent to England.

Irish.

Englifh.

1588 Sir William Fitz
Williams L. D.

Irish to be first trained up in Arms : This year the University of *Dublin* founded, and endowed with many Priviledges by the Queen.

1597 Sir Thomas Nor-
ris President of Munster
*Lord General of the Ar-
my against Tyrone.*

1597 Adam Loftus
*Lord Chancellor of Ire-
land and Sir Robert
Gardiner L. J.*

1599. Sir Adam Loftus
and Sir George Carey
Justices.

1584 Sir John Perrot
L. D.

Both blamed for suffering the
Irish to be first trained up in Arms : This year the University of *Dublin* founded, and endowed with many Priviledges by the Queen.

1594 Sir William Rus-
sel L. D.

Sir *John Norris* sent as an ex-
perienced Souldier to resist
Tyrone, who were then 1000
Horse and 9500 Foot strong.

1597 The Lord Bur-
roughs L. D.

1598 Robert Earl of
Essex L. L.

Brought over a fresh Army
of 16000 Foot and 1300
Horse, Success not an-
swerable, being maligned at
Court, the fate of too many
of his Predecessors, returned
for *England*, and was behed-
ed in the Tower, 1601.

Irish.

Irish.

English.

King James.

1603 *Sir George Carey*
L. D.

Sent the first Justices of Af-
fize into Ulster.

1604 *Sir Arthur Chi-
chester* L. D.

Sent the first Justices of Af-
fize into Munster and Con-
nacht.

1615 *Thomas Jones*
Arch-Bp. of Dublin, &c.
*and Sir Richard Wing-
field* L. J.

1614 *Sir Arthur Chi-
chester, then Lord of Bel-
fast, the Ancestor of the
now Earl of Donnegall*
L. D.

In Parliament repealed several Statutes, declaring the *Irish* Rebels not Subjects but Enemies. *Vide A&T. II. Jacobi, fol. 427.* the Harp first Marshal'd with the Arms of *Great Britain*.

Irish.

English.

1615 Thomas Jones
Lord Chancellor of Ire-
land, and Sir John Den-
ham Chief Justice of the
Kings Bench L. J.

1616 *Lord Grandeson*
L. D.

1622 *Lord Viscount E-*
ly and Lord Visc. Powers
Court L. J.

1625 *Lord Visc. Falk-*
land L. D.

Charles the First.

1629 *Lord of Cork and*
Lord of Ely L. J.

1633 *Lord Viscount*
Wentworth L. D.

1636 *Lord of Ely and*
Sir Christoph. Wandes-
ford L. J.

1636 Thomas *Lord Vis-*
count Wentworth L. D.

1639 *Lord Dillon and*
Sir Christoph. Wandes-
ford L. J.

Irish.

*Irish.**English.*

1639 *Earl of Strafford*
L. L.

1640 *Christoph. Wandes-*
ford L. D.

1640 *Lord Dillon and*
Sir William Parsons L.
Just.

1640 *Sir William Par-*
sons and Sir John Bor-
lace L. J.

Under whose Government
on the 23d. of Octob. 1641.
the Bloody Irish most bloody
Rebellion broke out.

1643 *Sir John Borlace*
and Sir Henry Tich-
burne L. J.

Persons eminently qualified
for the time they governed,
being both old Souldiers and
true hearted Englishmen, Tich-
burne gallantly secured and
defended Drogheda against the
Rebels, and thereby preserv-
ed Dublin and the multitude
of poor stript English in their
flight thither.

Irish.

Irish.

English.

1643 Janu. 21. James
then Marquess now Duke
of Ormond L. L.

1650 Ulick Bourke
Marquess of Clanriccard
L. D.

1660 Sir Maurice Eu-
stace Lord Chancellor,
Roger Boyle Earl of
Orrery and Charles
Coote Earle of Mont-
roth L. J.

1662. July 28. James
Duke of Ormond L. L.

1663 May 21. Thomas
Earl of Offory D.

Septemb. 1665 James
Duke of Ormond L. L.

1668 Apr. 25. Thomas
Earl of Offory D.

1669 Sept. 10. John
Lord Roberts L. L.

Irish.

*Irish.**English.*

1670 April 21. John
Lord Berkley L. L.

1671 Michael Boyle
Arch-Bishop of Dublin
Lord Chancellor and Sir
Arthur Forbes L. J.

Septemb. 1671 John
Lord Berkley L. L.

1672 May 21. Arthur
Earl of Essex L. L.

1677 Aug. 24. James
Duke of Ormond the
present L. L.

CHAP.



C H A P. IV.

The Heads of the Establishment for Ireland, commencing March 25. 1676.

CIVIL LIST.

Exchequer.	Tearly allowance.
Lord Treasurer	336 00 00
Vice-Treasurer	50 00 00
Chancellor of the Exchequer	200 00 00
Lord Chief Baron for his Fee and Robes - - - -	500 00 00
Second Baron	400 00 00
Third Baron	400 00 00
Prime Serjeant at Law for his Fee and Robes - - -	33 16 08
Second Serjeant	30 00 00
Attorney General	88 06 08
Solicitor General	88 06 08
Auditor General	184 00 08
and to him more in full of all Fees due to him upon passing Sheriffs Accounts	31 00 00

Carried forward

2341 10 08

Surveyor

	Brought over	2341 10 08
Surveyor General	60 00 00	
Escheator of <i>Leinster</i>	06 13 04	
Escheator of <i>Munster</i>	01 05 00	
Escheator of <i>Connaght</i>	01 05 00	
Escheator of <i>Ulster</i>	01 05 00	
Chief Remembrancer	30 00 00	
and to him in full satisfaction of all Fees due to him upon passing Sheriffs Accounts--	21 19 02	
Second Remembrancer	07 15 06	
and to him in full of all Fees upon passing She- riffs Accounts -----	45 06 09	
Clerk of the Pipe	45 00 00	
and to him in full of all Fees due to him upon passing Sheriffs Accounts -----	111 12 00	
Chief Chamberlain	10 00 00	
Second Chamberlain	05 00 00	
Comptroller of the Pipe	07 00 00	
and to him more in full of all Fees due to him upon passing Sheriffs Accounts	46 10 00	
Usher of the Exchequer	12 10 00	
and to him for Fees upon passing Sheriffs Accounts	11 12 06	
Transcriber and Foreign Opposer -----	15 00 00	
and to him for passing Accounts -----	38 15 00	
carried forward	2819 19 11	
	Summo-	

Brought over	2 8 19 19 11
Summonister	07 10 00
and to him more for the like Fees	36 08 06
Marshal of the Four Courts	04 00 00
Clerk of the Pells	30 00 00
Clerk of the First Fruits and Twentieth parts	27 10 00
and for Fees in passing Sheriffs Accounts	11 04 09
Cryer of the Exchequer	01 13 04
and for the like Fees	07 15 00
Pursivants of the Exchequer for carrying Writs	71 05 00
and for the like Fees	07 15 00
Auditor of the Foreign Accounts and Imprests	121 13 04
Three Commissioners of Appeals	300 00 00

3446 14 10

Court of Kings Bench.

Lord Chief Justice	600 00 00
Second Justice	400 00 00
Third Justice	400 00 00
Clerk of the Crown	007 10 00

1407 10 00

Chancery.

Chancery.

L	Ord Chancellor	1000 00 00
L	Master of the Rolls	157 09 11
Four Masters of the Chancery twenty pound each - - -	80 00 00	
Clerks of the Crown and Chancery - - - - -	25 00 00	
Clerks of the Hannaper	35 10 00	
		1297 19 11

Court of Common Pleas.

L	Ord Chief Justice	500 00 00
L	Second Justice	400 00 00
Third Justice	400 00 00	
Prothonotary	07 10 00	
		1307 10 00

State and Patent Officers, &c.

O	Fficers attending the State - - - - -	71589 01 10
Incidents	2187 00 00	
Custom Officers	238 06 08	
Creation Mony	544 11 08	
Perpetuities	489 15 06	
Temporary Payments	9367 17 01	
Concordatams	4500 00 00	
To uses to be appointed by Sign Manual - - -	27000 00 00	
		115916 12 09½ MILI.

MILITARY LIST.

General Officers.

L ord Lieutenant	6593 06 08
Marshal of <i>Ireland</i>	634 12 00
Muster-Master General and Clerk of the Cheques --	336 00 00
Six Commissaries of the Musters - - - - -	400 00 00
Comptroller of the Musters and Cheques - - - - -	436 00 00
Advocate General of the Army - - - - -	112 00 00
Chirurgeon General	112 00 00
	8623 18 08

Officers of the Ordnance and Train of Artillery.

M aster of the Ordnance	453 09 00
Lieut. of the Ordnance	117 12 00
Comptroller of the Ordnance	100 00 00
Clerk of the Ammunition and Stores - - - - -	67 04 00
Engineer and Overseer of his Majesties Fortifications --	300 00 00
Inferior Officers of the Train of Artillery - - -	728 00 00
	1766 05 00

Horse

Horse.

Kings Guard	5502 00 00
Twenty four Troops	45360 00 00
Lord Lieutenants own Troop 5 private Horse men and 3 Trumpets	252 00 00
more than other Troops	
An Additional Pay to pri- vate Horsemen of four Troops doing Duty at <i>Dublin</i> - - - - -	756 00 00

Foot.

Company of Foot Guards	1128 00 00
Royal Regiment	17035 04 00
Field and Staff Officers of the said Regiment - -	1341 04 00
74 Companies	64646 08 00
Earl Dunbartons Regiment	19616 16 00
Sir Nich. Armourer Gover- nor of the New Fort near Kinsale - - - -	365 00 00
Total of the Military List	166392 15 08
List of Pensions	11200 00 00
of which paid to persons in England	5780 00 00
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total of His Majesties Charge	230969 02 06

A Table for Reducing Plantation Acres into English to the Explanatory Act; Viz. For
Leinster, 3 d. Munster, 2 d. ob. Connacht, 1 d. q.

Irish. English, Acres, Leinster.

Ir. a.	En. a.	R.	P.	Pts.	l.	s.	d.	q.
1	1	2	19	21	0	4	3	
2	3	0	38	42	0	9	3	
3	4	3	17	63	1	2	2	
4	0	1	36	84	1	7	2	
5	8	0	15	105	0	2	1	
6	9	2	35	5	2	5	1	
7	11	1	14	26	2	10	0	
8	12	3	33	44	3	2	3	
9	14	2	12	68	3	7	3	
10	16	0	31	89	4	0	2	
20	32	1	23	57	8	1	1	
30	48	2	15	25	12	1	3	
40	64	3	6	114	16	2	2	
50	80	3	38	82	1	0	3	0
60	97	0	30	50	1	4	3	2
70	113	1	22	18	1	8	4	1
80	129	2	13	107	1	12	4	3
90	145	3	5	75	1	16	5	1
100	161	3	37	43	2	0	6	0
300	809	3	26	94	10	2	5	3
1000	1619	3	13	67	20	4	11	2
A	5000	80991	0	27	39	101	4	9
10000	16198	1	15	5	202	9	7	0

lish, in the several Provinces of Ireland; according to every English Statute Acre in the Province of Ulster, 2 d.

Munster.

Ulster.

Connagh.

l.	s.	d.	q.	l.	s.	d.	q.	l.	s.	d.	q.
0	3	3		0	3	1		0	2	2	
0	7	1		0	6	2		0	4	3	
0	11	0		0	1	3		0	7	1	
1	2	2		1	4	0		0	9	3	
1	6	1		1	4	1		1	0	0	
1	9	3		1	7	2		1	2	2	
2	1	2		1	10	3		1	5	0	
2	5	1		2	2	0		1	7	2	
2	8	3		2	6	1		1	9	3	
4	0	2		2	8	2		2	0	1	
6	1	3		5	4	3		4	0	2	
9	1	1		8	1	1		6	1	0	
12	1	3		10	9	2		8	1	1	
15	2.	1		13	6	0		10	1	2	
18	2	3		16	2	2		12	1	3	
1	1	3	1	18	10	2		14	2	0	
1	4	3	2	1	1	7	1	16	2	1	
1	7	4	0	1	4	3	2	18	2	3	
1	10	4	2	1	7	0	0	1	0	3	0
7	11	1	1	6	14	11	35	1	2	3	
15	3	6	2	13	9	11	3	10	2	5	3
75	18	7	0	67	9	10	250	12	4	2	
151	17	2	1	134	19	9	0	101	4	9	0



C H A P. V.

The Establishment of the Subsidies of
*Ireland.**Nobility Subsidy.*

D uke of Ormond	100	00	00
<i>Earl of Cork</i>	110	00	00
<i>Marques of Antrim</i>	60	00	00
Kildare	56	13	00
Thomond	40	00	00
Strafford	35	00	00
Clanriccard	35	00	00
Castlehaven	32	10	00
Roscommon	15	00	00
Londonderry	10	00	00
Desmond	10	00	00
Meath	15	00	00
Barrymore	30	00	00
Carbury	15	00	00
Arglass	20	00	00
<i>Earl</i>			

<i>Earl of</i>	Donnegall	50 00 00
	Cavan	02 10 00
	Clanbrazil	30 00 00
	Inchiquin	10 00 00
	Clancarty	40 00 00
	Orrery	20 00 00
	Montrath	15 00 00
	Drogheda	40 00 00
	Waterford	23 00 00
	Mountalexander	05 00 00
	Castlemain	20 00 00
	Arran	15 00 00
	Carlingsford	15 00 00
	Longford	15 00 00
	Tyrone	15 00 00
	Raneleigh	15 00 00

Viscounts.

G	Randison	10 00 00
G	Wilmot	10 00 00
	Valentia	30 00 00
	Dillon	20 00 00
	Loftus of Ely	12 10 00
	Swords	12 10 00
	Kilmurrey	12 10 00
	Conway	30 00 00
	Mayo	10 00 00
	Savil	20 00 00
	Lanesborough	10 00 00

Castlestone	20	00	00
Chaworth	20	00	00
Scudamore <i>of Sligoe</i>	12	10	00
Lumley	12	10	00
Strangford	12	10	00
Wenman <i>of Fryan</i>	10	00	00
Molleux	17	10	00
Fairfax	12	10	00
Fitz Williams	07	00	00
Rathcoole	12	10	00
Bareford	12	10	00
Bulkley	15	00	00
Ogle	12	10	00
Bronkart	12	10	00
Cullen	20	00	00
Gallmoy	03	00	00
Kingsland	20	00	00
Shannon	12	10	00
Dromore	12	10	00
Cloin	10	00	00
Mazareen	10	00	00
Cholmondleigh	12	10	00
Fanshaw <i>of Donnamore</i>	05	00	00
Duncannon	12	10	00
Fitz Harding	20	00	00
Clare	20	00	00
Charlemont	10	00	00
Powers Court	10	00	00
Granard	10	00	00

Lord

Lords Barons.

B	Ermingham	01, 00 00
B	Coursey	02 00 00
Kerry		10 00 00
Hoath		05 00 00
Cahir		05 00 00
Montjoy		12 10 00
Folliot		15 00 00
Maynard		15 00 00
Gorges		05 00 00
Digby		10 00 00
Fitz Williams of Lifford		10 00 00
Herbert		20 00 00
Baltimore		10 00 00
Brereton of Laghlin		05 00 00
Colrain		10 00 00
Sherard of Leitrim		10 00 00
Strabane		05 00 00
Hawley of Dunmote		05 00 00
Allington of Killard		20 00 00
Collooney		10 00 00
Santry		10 00 00
Glanawly		10 00 00
Altham		10 00 00

Ladies Subsidies.

C Lanrickard	20 00 00
C Thomond	10 00 00
A ntrim	11 13 00
R oscommon	05 00 00
C lonbrazill	10 00 00
C loncarty	15 00 00
M ountalexander	06 00 00
G lamoy	03 00 00
F irconnell	04 13 00
M assareene	05 00 00
S trabane	02 00 00
00 00 00	<hr/>
00 00 00	<hr/>
00 00 00	<hr/>
	<i>total</i> 92 06 00

*Subsidies of the several Bishopricks of
the Diocese of Ardmagh.*

<i>Arch-Bishoprick of Ardmagh</i>	180 17 08
<i>Bishoprick of Meath</i>	206 13 00
<i>Bishoprick of Londonderry</i>	142 08 00
<i>Bishoprick of Clogher</i>	105 08 00
<i>Bishoprick of Conner</i>	44 00 00
<i>Bishoprick of Rapho</i>	86 12 00
<i>Bishoprick of Dromore</i>	20 12 00
<i>Bishoprick of Down</i>	16 16 00
<i>Bishoprick</i>	

<i>Bishopricks of Killmore</i>	59	08	00
<i>Bishopricks of Ardagh</i>	12	12	00
	<i>total</i>	875	06 08

*Subsidies of the several Bishopricks of
the Diocese of Dublin.*

<i>Arch-Bishopricks of Dublin</i>	247	14	00
<i>Bishopricks of Kildare</i>	101	12	00
<i>Bishopricks of Ossory</i>	88	00	00
<i>Bishopricks of Ferns</i>	111	08	00
<i>Bishopricks of Leighlin</i>	44	08	00
	<i>total</i>	593	02 00

*Subsidies of the several Bishopricks of
the Diocese of Cashell.*

<i>Arch-Bishopricks of Cashell</i>	51	12	00
<i>B. of Waterford and Lismore</i>	102	09	06
<i>Bishopricks of Cork and Ross</i>	32	16	00
<i>Bishopricks of Cloyne</i>	41	04	00
<i>Bishopricks of Limbrick</i>	31	12	00
<i>Bishopricks of Killalow</i>	20	08	00
<i>Bishopricks of Ardfart</i>	04	05	00
	<i>total</i>	284	06 00

Subsidies

*Subsidies of the several Bishopricks of
the Diocess of Tuam.*

<i>Arch-Bishoprick of Tuam</i>	22	16	00
<i>Bishoprick of Elphin</i>	34	04	00
<i>Bishopr. of Athconry & Killala</i>	12	00	00
<i>Bishoprick of Clonfart</i>	30	08	00
<i>Bishoprick of Kilmacough</i>	07	00	00
	<hr/>		
	<i>total</i>	106	08 00

Provincial Subsidies.

Leinster.

<i>City of Dublin</i>	601	18	01 ob
<i>County of Dublin</i>	551	18	01 ob
<i>County of Catherlough</i>	147	10	07 ob
<i>County of Kildare</i>	477	12	10 ob
<i>County of Kilkenny</i>	479	02	00
<i>City of Kilkenny</i>	44	02	04 ob
<i>County of Wexford</i>	323	10	09
<i>County of Wicklow</i>	154	16	06
<i>Queens County</i>	242	13	09
<i>Kings County</i>	224	09	03
<i>County of Longford</i>	145	07	00
<i>County of West Meath</i>	356	17	04 ob
	<i>County</i>		

<i>County of Meath</i>	659 13 04 ob
<i>County of Louth</i>	217 13 09
<i>Villa de Drogheha</i>	053 11 06 ob
<i>total</i>	4580 08 04 ob

Munster.

<i>County and City of Cork</i>	1364 18 00
<i>City of Waterford</i>	97 01 00
<i>County of Waterford</i>	265 15 00
<i>County of Tiperary</i>	1039 17 00
<i>City of Limerick</i>	97 01 00
<i>County of Limerick</i>	492 08 00
<i>County of Kerry</i>	209 19 03
<i>total</i>	3566 19 03

Connaghht.

<i>County of Gallway</i>	153 15 01 ob
<i>Town of Gallway</i>	82 10 06
<i>County of Roscommon</i>	350 17 04 ob
<i>County of Mayo</i>	385 18 04 ob
<i>County of Leitrim</i>	160 05 06
<i>County of Sleigo</i>	295 10 03
<i>County of Clare</i>	386 14 06
<i>total</i>	2515 11 07 ob

Ulster.

Ulster.

<i>County of Antrim and Town of Carrickfergus</i>	402	13	06
<i>County of Down</i>	387	16	02
<i>County of Donnagall</i>	461	19	06
<i>Coun. & Cit. of Londonderry</i>	374	01	10 ob
<i>County of Ardmagh</i>	258	15	03
<i>County of Monaghan</i>	267	05	03
<i>County of Cavan</i>	272	09	09
<i>County of Fermanagh</i>	237	07	06
<i>County of Tyrone</i>	367	18	10 ob
<i>total</i>	3030	07	08
<i>total of the four Provinces</i>	13693	06	11

CHAP.



C H A P. VI.

Of Coyns.

INSisting more largely on the original Increase and Value of all the species of Mony, that have been or now are currant in the world, in my *Treatise of Traffick*, I shall only here briefly insist on this one Question, it having been more controverted with less agreement in the Council of Trade than any other point.

Quest. Whether it be advisable for the Government of Ireland to enhance the Value or debase the Allay of the currant Mony.

Answe. 1. Such as have been in the negative have maintained their Arguments from these Reasons.

1. It would be a Dishonour to the Government, Coyn being the Standard or Measure of all other things, it would weaken our Credit in our foreign Traffique.

And also infringe the Laws of foreign Commerce, and nothing more reflects upon a Prince or State than being inconstant in their Measures and Weights respecting Trade.

2. Sil-

2. Silver and Gold being foreign materials, we by enhancing their Value raise the rate of a foreign Specie on our selves.

3. If we raise its value, our Neighbour Princes, &c. will rise also, and then we are where we were.

4. It lessens the Repute of the Kings Revenue when estimated by its currant Value much above its intrinsique.

2. It is a great damage to the Subject.

1. All our Lands, Rents, Wares, &c. are proportionably undervalued, as we enhance or debase our Coyn, when the currant value of one Hundred pound in our Coffer is intrinsiquely worth but ninety five pound, our Estate is no more really, though reputively.

2. It will cause Controversies and Suites of Law in the paying of Rents and Specialties, when the Condition is currant lawful mony of and in England.

3. No man knows what he sells his Goods for; when he knows what sort of Mony he shall receive payment in.

In brief, if our Mony, which must rule the Price of all things, be mutable and uncertain, no man can make a sure and clear estate of what he hath; Contracts, Bargains, Rents, Taxes, Wages will all be uncertain.

These Objections contain the Substance of what were offered in the negative.

Now though it is granted these Notions are very sound, as to a well settled Commonwealth; yet, we say, there is no general Rule without

an exception, for sick States as well as sick Bodies Physick is more necessary than Food; and that this practice of enhancing the Rate and debasing the Value of the Coyn, hath been used by the wisest of Statesmen upon some urgent cases, our Histories give plentiful examples of.

First, for the debasing the Allay, though *Monsieur Bodin* argues against it, yet himself gives many instances as well in his own Countrey of *France* as in all other Kingdoms and States of *Europe*; he determines the finest Gold to be 23 Carrets, and Silver 11 Deniers, that is one 24th. part Alloy in Gold, and one 12th. part in Silver, and yet blames the Goldsmiths of *France* 688. that they made their work at 20. yea, oft-times at 19 Carrets, and so it had about the 5th. part of Silver or Copper Allay, and then spend five leaves in instances both of former and latter times of Princes changing the finest, and value of their Coins, which may be not only lawful, but expedient in these and the like causes: First, in time of Wars, or difference of Neighbour-Princes, who may contrive to draw out our Money from us, in order to weaken our hands, and Moneys being deservedly called the sinews of War; which project *Francis the First* carried on by settling a Bank at *Lions*, declaring Interest at 8 per C. the general rate in *Italy*, &c. being 5. he drew a great part of the Money of *Italy* and *Germany* into his custody. *Bodin* 673. the Emperor *Charles the fifth*, and *Henry the 8th. of England* did the like, *Holl.* 674. From *German* Merchants for 100000 Crowns at 12 per C. and about the same time,

time, viz. 1526. by Proclamation on the 6th. of September enhance the rate of his own Coyn, and raised the value of Gold to 45 shillings, and Silver to 36 shillings 9 pence; and again in the year 1544. the 35th. of his Reign proclaimed Gold to 48. and Silver at 48. the Ounce in value; and at the same time coyn base Mony, to wit, pieces of 1 s. 6 d. 4 d. 2 d. 1 d. and continue currant at that rate until the 5. of Edward the 6. when they were brought down, the Shilling to 9 pence, the Groat to 3 d. &c. and so continued until the 2. of Elizabeth: and although the Queen was exceeding curious in the affairs of her Mint, and tender of her Honour therein, yet was convinc'd by her Council, there was a necessity of debasing her Mony for Ireland; the Irish War against Tyrone that cost her 160000 l. per ann. would drain England dry of Coyn; the Arguments Buckhurst Lord Treasurer, &c. used, were,

1. It would abate the Charge of the War a fourth part, when her Shilling currant in Ireland was not worth above 9 pence.

2. It would much weaken the Hands of the Rebels, who drew most of the good Mony into their power for Provisions, &c. and made use of it to supply themselves with Arms and Ammunition, &c. from Foreigners, which a course Coyn would prevent.

3. It would discourage Foreigners from aiding them, when they considered they must receive their Pay in bad Mony, &c.

Upon which consideration the Mony she after sent

sent was debased in its Allay a fourth part Bras, the *Irish* shilling currant being but nine pence intrinsique value.

And it is notorious that *France*, *Holland*, and most part of the Hance Towns in *Germany*, as they have had as good Mony as the world affords, so they have as bad, which stands them in great stead, as to their petty Commerce, that the Tradesmen oft times give Exchange to have the Rix-Dollar turned into base Mony of currant value, though not the sixth part of the intrinsique; so that although *Monsieur Bodin*, and others of his opinion, deserve the esteem of knowing and judicious persons; yet I judge the contrary Practice of all Princes and States we have any account of may ballance than; that such may be the state of a Commonwealth, that debasing and enhancing Coyn may be not only expedient, but necessary:

1. In case of War, as before.
2. If other Neighbour Princes inhance or debase their Coyn, as in the Examples mentioned.
3. In case of Scarcity, and thereby increase of the rate or value of Bulloin: for if *England* had not enhanced their Coyn as Bulloin rose, from 26 in *Edward* the thirds time to 60 pence in Queen *Elizabeths*, it is not reasonable to believe *England* would have had a Silver spoon or a six pence left: and if Bulloin should yet increase in value to six or seven shillings per Ounce, if we enhance not our Coyn proportionably, it is not rational to believe we shall have a penny left.

Errata per contra
 Pag. in line 4. for
 36 s. 9 d. read 3 s.
 9 d. in line 6. for
Silver at 48 s. the
Ounce r. Silver at
4 s. the Ounce.

4. In case of the wrong Ballance of Trade, there is a necessity to do something to alter it, or the Kingdom's drained of its Coyn ; for so much as we buy more than we sell must be paid for in Mony, as is shewn in that Chapter : and there is but two ways to reform the Ballance of Trade, which is either to increase the Quantity and improve the Quality of our natural Growth, or restrain Consumption of Foreign Goods : the first is a work of time , and the latter difficult to effect : and the most rational Expedient to stem the Tide till it turn is, to make our Mony a worse and our Commodity a better Commodity for Transportation : for the Merchant only considers what is most gainful ; and whilst our Coyn is the best Commodity to export, he will not meddle with our Goods : but if Gold and Silver were the best Commodity to import, and the worst to export, there would need no other Law but the Common Law of Interest to preserve and increase Coyn.

And although it might be more convenient for me to keep to generals, and leave Expedients to those more concerned, and capable to reform : yet, considering I may be misunderstood, I judge it necessary to explain my self more particular in this case, there being extreams on both hands : for the having of no good Mony in the Body politick would be as dangerous as no good Blood in the Body natural.

First, I would propose that all our good Mony, either English or foreign Coyn, that is near the intrinsique

intrinsique value it goes for. *viz.* Gold of two in twenty four, and Silver of one in twelve Allay may inhance five per *Cent.* above its current rate in the Countries where we Trade, which cannot fall heavy upon any but future Cofferers; and I think Five per *Cent.* is too low a Fine upon them, and its increase of value would bring out all Mony now coffered.

Secondly, that all our course Mony may be altered in its specie, and coyned in Shillings, Six pences and Threepences, to its present intrinsique value, *viz.* the first rate in Shillings, the second in Sixpences, and the worst into Threepences; whereby all persons will have their own at the same current and intrinsique value they delivered it into the Mint, and the Mint deducting the Charge of Coyning, which is so inconsiderable, the Mony will be little the worse, and yet the Interest of all persons secured.

Thirdly, A certain Sum, as the Government may judge convenient, of very course Mony, about the Allay of the Dutch double Stiver be coyned in Twopence and Penny pieces.

Fourthly, That the like proportionable Sum be coyned of Copper, or rather Tin compounded with Copper (it being our own Material) in Halfpence and Farthings; these three last sorts of Mony we shall be sure to keep, which of themselves will be sufficient to manage our Homētrade, if our best Mony should be drained from us, and if our native Growth and Manufactures will not furnish us with foreign Commodities sufficient

ficient for our necessary Consumption, we are better without them.

If we had fewer Silk-Shops and Taverns, it would be no great Grievance, whilst we want not Drapers and Mercers Shops, and Ale-houses, &c. and no Country in the world less depends upon Foreign supply than *Ireland* for Necessaries, and it is improvident to consume ourselves in Superfluities.

THE



THE SUPPLEMENT.

Objection.

IF the Government of *Ireland* by its own Members be of so great advantage as you affirm, Part 2. Chap. 3. to the Trade and Wealth of that Kingdom, whence was it the Trade, &c. were no more promoted under the Justices 1661, 1662? and why did not the Duke of *Ormond* in his seven years Government no more improve the Trade and Wealth of *Ireland*?

Answer.

1. Though the then Justices were members of *Irelands* Common-wealth, and consequently interested in its commonon Good; yet the various Interests of *Ireland* being undetermined, all they could do was to keep all quiet, by keeping each party in expectation matters might go better with them upon the Settlement than they feared, the chief Contrivances of the people of each Faction being how to wipe themselves clean with each others foul Clouts, by alledging something to extenuate

The Interest

tenuate their own and aggravate others Offences.

2. The great Confusion the Duke found that Kingdom in at his landing, all Interests being unsettled, and Minds unsatisfied, both which were necessary to be composed and determined, before the Improvement of the Kingdom by Trade could be thought on; for till men knew their Interest in the Country, as to their real Estates, they had little reason to be much concerned in improving their personal. Uncertain Titles to Lands are always attended with certain omissions of Improvements; for men are not willing to build Houses for others to dwell in, nor to improve Lands for others to possess.

Which was then more notoriously the state of the Inhabitants of *Ireland* in general than usually befalls a Country, which will appear, if you do but weigh the many distinct and contrary Interests, producing several violent opposite Factions and Parties that *Ireland* was under at the Dukes access to the Government. And for your Information or Satisfaction herein, take this brief view of the state from the year 1660. to the year 1662. the Duke arrived.

1. The *Irish* themselves, notwithstanding the body of them, could not be unsensible of their Guilt in the bloody massacring of so many hundreds of thousands of *English* in cold blood; yet they alledge their Displeasure was not against the King, nor against the Kings good Subjects, but for their own preservation, against the fury of the Puritan party,

party, then so much favoured by the Parliament of *England*: and therefore they hoped the worst construction would not be put upon their Actions; but that the edge of that sharp Law of *Decimo Septimo* against their Estates, passed by the King under some sort of necessity to satisfie the discontented people of *England*, might be blunted.

A second sort, of them that pleaded they were not concerned in the bloody Massacre and first Rising; for they tendred their Service to the Crown till they observ'd the Commotion to be so general, and themselves so far suspected, they were not trusted, that they had only choice which party they would be ruined by; and therefore fell in with the rest of their Country men, hoping by their Interest in their Councils to prevent further Extremities, and to keep them in a capacity of accepting reasonable terms of Submission to the Government of *England*.

A third sort pleaded they accepted of the Cessation 1643. and closed in with the Peace in the years 1646, 1648. and from that time were faithful to the Crown, and bore Arms in the defence of its Interest against the Usurpers; and many of them, after they could do the King no further Service in *Ireland*, served under the Banner of his Friends beyond Sea, without the least defect, until the time his of Majesties happy Restoration, and from thence they concluded they had made amends for all their former faults.

There were a fourth sort, who, though least in number, yet most deserving, that pleaded In-

nocency, as without any defect in the whole Transaction, and they expected not only their own Estates, but Reparation for past Sufferings.

And as these several Interests and Factions of the *Irish* thus divided them into parties, so was it with the *English* Protestants.

1. The unspotted Royalists, that both in the *English* and *Irish* War never served under other but the Kings Banner, they expected to be both first and best provided for, who had a special provision made for them, though not what they expected, by the Act of Settlement, under the denomination of the Forty nine Men.

2. Such who had served the King faithfully in his Wars in *England* and *Ireland* until the Kings Government was removed, and then accepted of Impositions under the Usurpers in *Ireland*, and these were generally known by the denomination of the Old Protestant party.

3. They which seemed to be the most considerable, both for Number and Interest, being possest of the chief Impositions both Military and Civil at the Kings Restoration was the new Interest of Adventurers and Souldiers, the first claiming Propriety by the Act of *Dicimo septimo*, and the other by their Service against the *Irish*, in which they alledged they had done the King good Service, though by his Enemies Commissions; and they being suspicious the Lands of *Ireland* would not hold out to satisfie the Expectations of all those Interests, it begat Factions both between

the

the Adventurer and Souldier, and between each party among themselves.

Those Adventurers that had payed their Subscriptions in due time, pleaded Priviledge before those who failed in that point, then the original Subscribers found themselves aggrieved the doubling Ordinance men should invade their first Security: so amongst the Souldiers those then in Arms pleaded in consideration of their good Services in the Kings Restoration they deserved to have the Kings Favours in the the A&t of Settlement limited to such as were mustered in the next Muster after the Kings Interest was avowed, but the others alledged, they never intended to bring in the King, until they had run themselves into such confusions in their Counsels and Convulsions in their State they knew not what to do, which gave a fair opportunity to those Royalists amongst them, in that shuffle of the Cards, to turn up the Kings Interest Trumps.

Now these many different Interests rendred the work of *Irelands* Settlement both tedious and difficult, that required both a skilful and tender Hand to compose; for these contrary Interests produced contrary Humours, which, until the Duke of *Ormond* landed, work'd to that height of opposition, that every Eye was filled with envy, and every Brow with indignation one against the other, that if they met on the Road, or passed by each other in the Street, contempt and prejudice to a strange degree might be read in their deport-
ment;

ment; yet all the Factions, unless that termed Fanatick, bore up with a competent confidence, but the generality of that party seemed to be much dejected, every day more and more withering in their hopes, in so much that many of them were preparing for voluntary Exile, some to Plantations in *America*, others into *Holland*, or such parts of *England*, as they supposed obscurity might give them most quiet and safety, and in order thereunto sold considerable Interests in this Kingdom at very low rates, some giving one moyety, some less, to Favourites at Court, to secure the Remain to themselves.

But soon after, understanding that the Act of Settlement was neer perfected, and that His Majesty was gratisly inclined to make no considerable distinction of Interests therein, nor exception of persons included in his gratisy Act of Indemnity, and that the Duke of *Ormonde*, who of all men had been most disobligeed by the late Powers, they feared would have been their greatest Enemy, was the most concerned to secure their Interest in the common Bottom out of his Love to the common *English* Interest of *Ireland*, and was also nominated when the Act was perfected to come over as Lord Lieutenant, to see it executed; they then began to take heart, and inclined to see the issue of his Government before they would further unsettle themselves, considering that if his Humour were moderate towards them, he had an Interest and Spirit big enough to strengthen his own Resolutions, and not to

be diverted from the practice of his own Reason for fear or favour of any of the Parties, which was not the case under the present Justices, which soon after his arrival they found made good beyond their expectations, having equal access with others into his presence, and that with good acceptance. and also finding they could have equal Justice at the Court of Claims, and other the Kings Courts, with other the Kings Subjects, they gave over their thoughts of removing, and disposed themselves to industry in the Country, or Cities, as their Estates and Educations capacitated them.

Now it is not to be expressed what sudden alterations this made in the Humour and Deportment of the persons of several Interests one towards another; this equal Countenance and Justice of the chief Governour begat an equal Familiarity betwixt the people of different parties, and so deep a resentment had the principal persons of that party, before most dejected, they agreed, as many of the Field Officers as were in *Dublin*, to make a solemne return of Thanks to the Duke, and withal a Tender of their Service to his Son the Earl of *Offory*, then Lieutenant General of the Army, that they were ready with their Lives and Estates when his Majesties Affairs required, to engage themselves against the Kings Enemies under his Conduct, which was courteously accepted by the Earl, who with many affectionate Expressions, in his sweet obliging way, assured

assured them when the Kings Affairs required, he should highly esteem their Company and Assistance.

From which time that party esteemed it their duty, to study how to approve themselves not only loyal Subjects to their King, but grateful Servants to his Vice-Roy.

Thus all Interest being determined by the Act of Settlement, and thereby all Humours composed; each party and every person bent their minds and industry to defend their Titles to what the said Act gave them a pretence unto in the Court of Claims, where such a brisk Trade was driven, in purchasing and prosecuting Titles to Land, no other Trade or Manufactures were thought on, the bulk of the Cash of the Kingdom being swallowed up in that gulph.

Yet in that time the Duke considering, Land in *Ireland* would little differ from Land in *America*, without Inhabitants to plant and improve it, was very inquisitive after the Intrigue of Trade and Manufacture, if he met with any persons that he apprehended were acquainted with those Affairs: and in May 1664. gave a Commission to a Council of Trade, with full and large Instructions for them to govern their Proceedings by, which are printed in my Preface, and most persons of Quality having by that time gained possession of great scopes of Land, in several of their Lots they found old ruined Towns; and, discerning no other way to get them planted, grew eager of Manufactures, to whom the Lord Lieutenant gave all possible incou-

incouragement, that within a few years after we had erected by private persons on their own accounts many considerable Manufactures.

In *Leinster* Alderman *Daniel Hutchenson* at *Athy*, Earl of *Arran* at *Tullagh*, Lord Chancellor *Eustace* at *Baltinglass*, Esquire *Parsons* at the *Byrr*, the publick Manufacture of *Chappelizod* on the Kings account, besides several other lesser Attempts.

In *Munster* the Earl of *Orrery* at *Charlevil*, several Dutch Merchants in *Limerick* and *Clare*, Baron *Hartstongue* at the *Bruff*.

Besides very considerable addition of Cloth, Bays, Stuffs and Stockins at *Cork* and *Bandon*, &c.

In *Connacht* the Lord *Kingston* at *Abby Boyle*, Sir *James Cuff* at

Some time after the Duke, on his particular account, attempted a Manufacture at *Callen*, and also gave great incouragement to some Undertakers to erect the most considerable Manufacture *Ireland* ever saw, for Cloth and Stuffs, at *Clonmell*, which for some years employed many hundreds of people, and made as good Cloth and Stuffs as *England* could produce. *

In *Ulster* the Lord *Dungannon* at *Dundalk*, but the *Scotch* and *Irish* in that Province addicting themselves to spinning of Linnen Yarn, attained to vast quantities of that Commodity, which they transported to their great profit, the conveniency of which drew thither multitudes of Linnen Weavers, that my opinion is, there is not a greater quantity of

of Linnen product in the like circuit in *Europe*: and although the generality of their Cloth fourteen years since was fleisie and thin, yet of late it is much improved to a good fineness and strength, and will in all probability increase daily both in quantity and quality; but all the other Manufactures mentioned, after the Dukes removal from the Government, dwindled away to nothing, except two or three that like sick folk are ready to expire; the Causes of which and Remedies I shall shew at large in my Discourse of Manufacture, supposing this account of the state of Affairs all the time of the Dukes first Government is a sufficient Answer to the Objection, and corroborates my Assertion that it is the Interest of *Ireland* to be governed by persons peculiarly interested in its prosperity.

Object.

An Answer to the Objection pag. 93.

IT is objected in pag. 93. of the 2d. Part, if the bloody Massacre in 1641, &c, proceeded not from any depravity from Principles of Humanity, nor from any spirit of revenge or personal hatred against the Protestants, but only from their bloody Tenents in matters of Religion, as you affirm; it were necessary to instance what Points of their Religion they are that render them so dangerous, they professing themselves Christians, &c.

Answer,

As I there hint, it is not the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, viz. what relates to Faith and Worship, but the Policies of the Court of *Rome* that renders them so incompatible with civil Order and humane Society: multitudes of Christians live safely amongst Turks and Pagans in *Asia*, *Africa* and *America*, without danger of Massacres or Assassinations on the account of Religion; though they have no Law of true Religion to influence them, yet the Law of Humanity is not wholly obliterated; they know what it is to do as they would be done by; as *Gage* and other Historians of the *Spanish West Indians* inform us, those miserable Pagans will ask what place the Spaniard goes to after death, vehemently declaring, they will not worship that God whose Servants

The Interest

vants are so cruel, lest they should be as barbarously used by them in the other world.

And as their inhumane bloody cruelty is condemned by the Law of Nature, so much more by all moral and divine Laws.

Therefore what I shall insist on shall be such Tenents as are not only against all Christian but Moral Principles, nay against the common Law of Nature and Nations, such as render humane Society more dangerous than brutish, who prey not on nor devour those of their own kind, but rather unite their strength in common dangers for common safety.

In the stating of which I shall observe this method :

1. Propose the Principles themselves, and shew you what they are, and how esteemed by their own Authors.
2. To observe their original from whence they proceed.
3. The Authority by which they are approved and confirmed, and by whom rejected and condemned.
4. Their natural Consequences what they must produce.
5. The actual or practical Operation of them, what Work they have already done in the world.
6. Their Inconsistency with the just Power of Princes and States, &c.
7. Shall give some Reasons why it is not only the Duty but the Interest of the Irish Papists

OF IRELAND.

to reject and explode them above all other Papists
in the world.

First Sect shews what those Principles are that are so incompatible with humane Society and civil Peace.

It may be said of them as the unclean Spirit replied to Christ, *Mark 15.* they are legions; the detection and rejection of which hath engaged many of our Protestant Authors to write many great Volumes to confute them; as Dr. *Fulk*, *Willet*, *Field*, *Jewell*, &c. and later, *Chillingworth*, *Stillingfleet*, *Poole*; and of *Ireland* Bishop *Usher*, *Bramhall*, *Taylor*, &c. with several of our dissenting Divines, as Mr. *Baxter*, &c. besides many *German* and *French* Protestant Doctors.

But, to avoid prolixity, I shall chiefly observe what is asserted by the Author of the *Mystery of Jesuitism*, who is so thorough a Papist, that he asserts the Church of *Rome* to be the only true *Mystery of Church*, out of which there is no Salvation: and therefore his Testimony and the Doctors of Sorbon, &c. whom he vindicates in their opposition to their Casuists and Schoolmen, &c. is without exception. But that they may be known by their proper names I shall stile them *Jesuitical Tridentine Tenents*; the Jesuits laid the Cockatrice eggs, and the Council of *Trent* hatch'd them into flying Serpents, into mortal stinging Scorpions; as I shall observe in the 5th. Section.

The first born of this viperous brood was the Popes personal Infallibility, which though contended for from Boniface 3. yet was never re-

ceived not imposed as an Article of Faith until that illegal Council of Trent, but attributed to General Councils only: but this was so needful a point, without which they could never have attained that one thing necessary the Popes personal Supremacy: and of these two Parents were begot that litter of bloody Tenents, which (as I shall shew Sect. 5.) hath since made Christendom an Aethel-dama, or field of Blood.

- M. J. p. 71. 1. Their Doctrine of probable Opinions, whereby they may not only reject all Doctrines of Faith, &c. If two, nay if one grave Doctor maintain the grossest Error, it is a probable Truth.
But they thereby justify the declining all Rules of Morality.

- M. J. p. 78, 83. 1. No man is bound to obey his Superior, though the superior Opinion be the more probable, nay though just; but he may embrace what is most acceptable to himself.
2. It is lawful to kill a man for a Box o' th' ear either given or offered, and to kill an Informer, a Witness or Judge, if he suspect they will be corrupt.
3. To kill a man for the Lye, or opprobrious speeches, affrontive signs or gestures.
4. If a man take our Goods to the value of a Crown, it is no sin to kill him.
5. If there be reason to suspect a man will disgrace him by opprobrious speeches it is lawful to kill him.
6. To kill a Jansenist if he reflect upon their Society, much more a Hugonite.

For the justifying of these Opinions is cited *Eſcober, Molina, Tenerus, Beccanus, Reginaldus, Layman, Lessius, Amicus, Filofius, Carramuel* and other Jesuits.

7. *Judges may receive Gifts, and give their sentence in a probable Opinion against a more probable Opinion in his own Judgment,* cited *Castro, pag. 103, Palata, Escobar and Layman.* 104.

8. *If a man gain an Estate by violence, rapine, and extortion, &c. in order to his honorable Substance, rather than it should be scattered amongst his Creditors, he may turn Bankrupt, and delude his Creditors with a good Conscience;* cited *Eſcober, pag. 108, Lessius, &c.* 109.

9. *It is lawful, nay charitable, to direct a Thief about to rob a poor man, to quit him and rob a rich man;* *Vasquez, Escobar, &c.* pag. 109.

10. *If a man entreat a Souldier to beat his Neighbour, or fire his House, that hath offended him, he is not obliged to repair him,* especially in Ireland. pag. 109, 110.

11. *Goods purchased by Crimes, as by Murder, &c. is lawfully posſeft, and the person not obliged to make restitution,* *Eſcober, &c.* pag. 112, 113.

12. He then asserts the Doctrine of Equivocation and Mental Reservation, and how to have a false thing believed for a truth without lying, useful to baffle a true and to prove a sham Plot; *vid. Ursinus p. 197.*

13, *Saith Sanchez, a man may swear he hath not done a thing he really hath, by understanding within himself, that he did it not on such or such a day.* page 129.

p. 130. day, or before he was born, &c. this is a thing of great convenience on many occasions, and is always necessary or advantageous: and is absolutely necessary when confessing the truth would discover Plots against Heretical Princes, &c. or any ways reflect on the Catholick Cause.

p. 130. 14. Promises oblige not when a man hath no intention to engage himself when he makes them: this is a probable Opinion; for more than two grave Doctors assert it.

p. 132. 15. A man may lawfully deflower a Virgin if she consent; provided he direct his intention aright, to pass for a Gallant, &c. though the Father hath just cause to be troubled at it; yet neither she nor the person to whom she prostitutes her self is guilty of sin: and lest any bold Heretick should presume to question the truth of this necessary Point they give this reason for it: For the Maid is in possession of her Virginity as well as her Body, she may dispose of it as she pleases, and to whom she pleases.

A necessary Doctrine for the better keeping the Vow of Chastity.

p. 134. 16. Saith Escobar, a wicked intention, as happily looking on a Woman with an impure desire, joyn'd with that of bearing Mass as a man oft binders not a man from fully performing the duty: especially in Venus Temple.

Ad M. 7. 17. That an Ecclesiastick surprised in Adultery by the Womans Husband may lawfully kill him in his own defence (saith Escobar.) The merit of the p. 94. Murder is to expiate the sin of Adultery.

18. That according to a probable Opinion if a Tax imposed on Merchandise is not just, it is lawful to use false weights to gain the more; and if he be charged for so doing he may deny it by Oath, making use of equivocal expressions when he is brought upon Interrogatories before a Judge. A Tenant ad M. J. useful to Merchants, but pernicious to the Farmers p. 93. of Customs.

19. That he who bath a will to commit all the venial sins that are doth not sin mortally: as they do that question the Popes Infallibility. Granados Diana Muchat. ad M. J.

20. That a man doth not commit any sin, or is guilty of any irreverence towards God, when he presumes to address himself to him in his devotions having an intent mortally to offend him. Ad M. J. p. 98.

21. That a religious man having made use of a Woman may kill her, if she offer to discover what passed between them. You may easily guess what Religion this religious man is of. Ad M. J.

You may read their pious slights (as they call them) Letter 10. p. 137. to 155. in the business of Confession, Penance and Absolution.

They affirm Absolution ought not to be denied or delayed, though the Sinner continue in habitual sins against the Laws of God, Nature and the Church, though you discover not the least hope of amendment. vid. the Bishop of Machlin's Collection and Rejection of 43 horrid Errors. ad M. J. p. 145. p. 90.

But what is yet mentioned are but little piccadil- loes, only inconvenient to neighbourly Society and civil Converse betwixt private persons, and to blast

their Reputation, or deceive them of their Good and Lives is but a petty Retale trade.

Therefore I shall hint a few of their Whole Sale Merchants, that trade for Empires, Kingdoms and States, which are the great Arms of the Tree of Supremacy, &c. the other but small Boughs and some of them twigs comparatively. And that you may believe their depoling and dethroning Kings is from good Authority, read the Reason given by *Saunders* the Jesuit, published by *Ursini* p. 190.

If the Pope be infallible (which no Roman Catholic dare question) there is great reason he should be suprem, and make Laws for the regulating the Consciences of fallible erring Prince and States: the first we read of that assumed this suprem Power, as an Article of the Catholic Faith, was *Hildebrand*, which Dr. *Paget* observes, and records his infallible princely Canons.

I shall only mention these few.

That it is lawful for the Bishop of Rome to make new Laws for the necessity of the times; which all Princes and States are obliged to observe, though they cross their own Laws, and hazard the ruine of their Interest or Lives.

That the Pope only may use Imperial Robes; lest temporal Princes should mistake their carnal Emperor for their spiritual Lord and Master.

That all Princes shall kiss the Popes Feet: his Hands being seldom clean from Blood, or Lips from Blasphemy.

That

That it is lawful for him to depose Emperors, &c.
because they are so much his slaves as to let
him.

That no general Synod might be called without
his Holiness Command : lest they should proceed
contrary to his Instructions, which his Council of
Trent durst not do.

That he ought to be judged by no man : lest they
should judge him, as others his predecessors, to be
Atheists, Conjurers, Blasphemers, perjured per-
sons, Traytors, Tyrants, Whoremongers, So-
domitites, infectious monsters of men.

That he is not to be accounted Catholik that a- Vid. Ur-
grees not with the Church of Rome ; that never finis pag.
yet agreed with her self in any thing, but what^{204. to}
tended to the propagating Error and suppressing^{240.}
the Truth.

That Subjects do not sin when they refuse without Ad M.J.
reason alledged to submit to a Law whereof there hath p. 92.
been a legal Proclamation made by their Prince.

That Clergymen are not subject to secular Prin-
cies, nor obliged to any obedience to their Laws, even
though those Laws are not any way contrary to the pag. 92.
State Ecclesiastical.

Saith Bellarmine, if the Pope should command
us to sin we are bound to obey him. Others say,
if the Pope should lead thousands to Hell we must not
reprove him. vid. Poole's Nullity of the Romish
Faith. p. 243.

And admit their Popes to be such as Baronius,
Platina, Genbrandus and others of their own Au-
thors describe them to be, monsters of men, ra-
ther

ther Defilers than Rulers of the Roman Seat, prodigious slaves to all Vices, and the wickedest of men, none more filthy; that is, admit the Popes be as bad as Vice can make them: yet (saith Bellarmine) Kings are rather Slaves than Lords; Churchmen being as far above them as the Soul is above the Body, that Bishops who are at the Popes nod may depose them.

Nay (saith Masconius) the Pope is above Law, against Law, and without Law; and therefore can Prins Ro-
mish Po-
sitions of Dominantium: in short, he bath the same Tribu-
Rabelli-
on 3650. quoted by Ursinus p. 193.
nial with God himself. vid. Regula juris Romani

Well might one of their great Clergymen say, Poole's Nullity of Author of it; but sure he was some pestilent Heretic: for he every where condemns the Doctrines p. 218. of our Church.

Their Sublimity and Immensity is so great (said Ursinus Cassenius) no mortal man can comprehend it, no man can express it, no man can think it. vide Bishop Taylors Dissu. Part I.

He can increase the number of the holy Scriptures, dethrone Kings, and dispose of all temporal Domini-
nions at his pleasure, punish them with temporal puni-
shments, and this Power is more necessary over
Princes than over Subjects: if he could not depose
Kings, and compell their Subjects to execute his
Power, his Power were not only inefficacious, but insufficiens. Review of the Council of Trent.

' An excommunicate King may with impunity
be deposed or killed by any one. *Suarez Def.*

Fid. lib. 3. cap. 23.

' Nay F. Parsons affirms, that if any Christian p. 149.
' Prince whatsoever decline the *Roman Religion*,
' &c. he presently loseth all Power and Dignity
' before any Sentence of the Pope is pronounced,
' and his Subjects are absolved from all Oaths of
' Allegiance, and ought to reject such a one from
' the Government of Christians by the strictest
' bond of Conscience, and the utmost hazard of *Id. p. 109.*
' their Souls: for he hath *ipso facto* lost his King- 149, 160,
' dom.

' The Pope is not only advanced by these Papal
' Janissaries above all the Emperors and Princes, but
' above all that is called God. *vid. Prynnes Roman
Positions of Rebellion 1650. Dr. Du Moulin's Vind.
Answ. to Apolog. 1656.*

But to compleat all the rest, lest any Promise
or Faith engaged to Hereticks, when Policy of
State requires it, should after obstruct the Suc-
cess of the Catholick Cause; as the performance
with *John Huss* and *Jerom of Prague* would have
done, had they returned at liberty to propagate
their Heresie: the prudent Council of *Constance*
did not only condemn and burn them, but insti- *Vid. Ursini*
tuted it an Article of the Catholick Church, Faith p. 184.
was not to be kept with Hereticks.

I judge these Texts need no Comment, only
take some few of the Epithetes given them by
Popelings themselves.

' What

Preface to
M.J.

‘ What Idea can be given of those men whose Maxims dispence with all the obligations of Evangelical purity, who level the Precepts of the Gospel to the corrupt passions of men, who make our tendency to future Beatitude consistent with the pleasures and enjoyments of this world, and who by their artifices of pious sleights, easie Devotions, and such compliances of humane invention bring Religion into contempt, &c.

‘ For if a man doth but seriously reflect on their strange Tenents about Revenge, Calumnies, Restitution, Equivocation, mental Restrictions, shifting and directing the Intention, and that Consummation of all extravagance, the Doctrine of probable Opinions: what can he imagine less than that such Societies of men are Academies of Dissimulation and Sycophancy diabolically bargued in a design not only practising but maintaining and justifying whatever is most horrid and abominable in the sight of God and man, &c. they are to be looked on as the bane of Charity and Sincerity, and the vermine of all humane Society, &c. they joyn Blasphemy and Heresie together; Catholicks externally and Hereticks internally; Satanically zealous to shew themselves the Patronizers of Homicide, &c.

M.J. Pref. ‘ These pernicious Propositions are the destructive Vipers of all Morality.

Ad M.J. p. 48. ‘ Notorious Distracters, Impostors, and Disturbers of the publick Peace.

Ad M.J. p. 51. ‘ A poysonus Morality more currupt than the Pagans themselves.

‘ Propo-

'Propositions doing violence to the natural right,
'and the Law of Nations, excusing Blasphemies,
'&c. and the most enormous sins; as if they *Ad M. J.*
'were light piccadilloes. *p. 55.*

'What dreadful extravagances doth their Do-
'ctrine of probable Opinions assert! they open a
'door to all immorality, they are the general poy-
'son of those envenomed sources which commu-
'nicate a far greater infection than sinful Na- *Ad M. J.*
'ture. *p. 64.*

'The most implicit Ignorance is to be preferred
'before such Knowledge as teaches men to be
'Scepticks in all things, and to find out ways to
'justifie the corrupt Maxims of men, and to pra-
'ctise the grossest Sins with safety of Consci- *P. 123.*
'ence.

This is the Opinion of the Doctors of *Sorbon*,
given under their hands in a general Assembly
April 1658. vid Ad M. J. 147.

Affirming it is not only theirs but the *Curez*
of *Rouen* and many other Cities of *France*. *p. 146.*

Also the Bishop of *Maecllin* sends his Protest
to the Cardinals of the Inquisition of *Rome*, and
annexeth forty three of their pernicious Principles *Pag. 84.*
not to be tolerated: *vid. Proph. Hildegards p. 51. to 133.*

'They are (saith he) Hypocrites, subverters of the
'Truth, proud, shameless, unstable Teachers, de-
'licate Martyrs, covetous Confessors, unmerciful
'Calumniators, religious for filthy lucre sake, han-
'bly insolent, of an inflexible Piety, insinuating
'Lyars, peaceable Persecutors, Oppressors of the
'weak, Introducers and Authors of evil Sects,
'mis-

mischievously compassionate, lovers of the world,
 Merchants of Indulgences, robbers of Benefices,
 importunate Orators, seditious Conspirators (as
 we shall see in their Politicks) sighing but out of
 Gluttony, ambitious of Honor, criminally zeal-
 ous, grafters of the world, applauders of Men,
 seducers of Women, sowers of Dissention; no
 enemies could ever match these Furies, whose
 Colledges and professed Houses are the recepta-
 cles of the guilty, the refuges of dishonesty, the
 reproach of Christianity, the Shops of Iniquity;
 the Academies of impiety, the lovers of Heresie,
 the Chairs of Infection, the high places of Anti-
 christ, the Brothel-houses of the Whore of Ba-
 bylon, the Architects of Blasphemies against God
 and all his Saints, the companions of the Sodo-
 mites and Onan, the Emissaries of Devils, &c.
 they are a hodge podge of old Errors blended to-
 gether after the mode of a new *Olia*, by commu-
 nicating with the Netetians, Praxeans, Anthro-
 po-Morphites, Collyndians, Gnosticks, Carpa-
 catians, Pharisees, Manichees, Nazarites, Catha-
 rists, Massilians, Pelagians, Mahumitans, Prisci-
 liamists, Ebionites, &c. and what not to over-
 turn the fundamental Articles of Christianity.

Luc. Pref.
 Hist. Jes.
 1627.

pag. 36.

They who are thus notorious in their Ethicks
 are no better (but worse if it may be) in their Politicks; he who gave us the precedent Elogy of
 them in their own words, says also; 'they are the
 Incendiaries of the whole world, the Ruiners of
 Cities, the Poysoners of Kingdoms, the Murthe-
 rers of Kings, the Archtypes of Rebellion, the
 Jesuit

Jesuit reckons it in the number of his Merits, if he may by any sinister ways ruffle and disorder Heretical Kingdoms (so he calls them) encourage weak and unstable minds to slight Magistracy, irritate Divisions, Tumults, Rebellions, absolve from Oaths and sacred Tyes; so that 'tis hard to find any tragical Scene or bloody Theatre into which the Jesuit hath not intruded, and been as busie as *Davus* in the Comedy, contributing in an high measure to every Fanatick insolence, justifying the old lemma *Loyola's Picture*; [cavete *Principes*] these are the Firebrands of Europe, the Forge and Bellows of Sedition, infernal Emissaries, the Pests of the age, men that live as if huge Sins would merit Heaven by an Antiperistasis: and indeed what have the Jesuits not done by their Fire-arts both moral and mechanical, to turn all the stately Fabricks of Government into confusion in France, Portugal, Germany; yea and Turkie as well as in Ireland and this famous Island of Great Britain? *vide Modern Policy ch. 4. sect. 1. 1652.*

And much more may you read to this purpose collected from their own Authors by *Ursinus, Stillingfleet, Chillingworth, Bishop Taylor* and the learned Author of the *Fiery Jesuit, &c.* If this be not enough to render them more dangerous in a State (especially in a Protestant State) than Protestant Disenters let the most Popish of Protestants judge.

Objection.

Since you charge all these bloody Tenents and rebellious Doctrines against the Principles of Morality

The Interest

rality and Dictates of Humanity to be the natural Offspring of the Popes Infallibility and Supremacy, from whence do they proceed?

1. Not from Christ.

He disowns them, *Matth. 20.25. Luke 21.25.*

St. Job. 18.36. My Kingdom is not of this world.

2. Not from the Apostles.

St. Paul condemns Diotriches for loving the Preeminence, St. John Epist. 3. v. 9. St. Peter (from whom they pretend to derive their Dignity) utterly explodes them; 1st. Epist. ch. 2. v. 13, 14, &c. so *Romans ch. 13.* the first 8 verses.

3. Not from the Fathers.

Polycrates and *Irenaeus* exploded it. *vid. Eusebius lib. 5. c. 21, 22, 23, &c.*

Cyprian, lib. 1. Epist. 3.

Hierom, all Bishops are of one Worthiness; neither Riches nor Poverty maketh Bishops higher or lower.

St. *Augustine*, about a hundred years after St. *Cyprian*, rejects it. *vid. Council of Africa ch. 9.*

So Chrysostome Hom. 3. and 35.

Gregory the Great (the last of good Bishops at *Rome*) did not only condemn the Title as Anti-christian; but greatly bewailed it, as the forerunner of the Churches Misery: saith he, *Ages succeeding shall feel the dismal effects of that fond Title, which he termeth Nomen vanitatis, vocabulum, prophanum, perversum, superbum, scholeustum, superstitionis.*

4. Not from the Councils.

1. The Council of *Carthage* saith, there is none

note but a few desperate and loose companions take the Authority of the Bishops of Africa to be less than that of Rome *Cyprian Epist. 3.*

2. The Council of Nice Canon 6. *vid. Ruffinus History of the Church lib. 1. ch. 6.*
3. Council of Constantinople ch. 2.
4. The Council of Africa Canon 26. ch.
5. Council of Ephesus ch. last.
6. Council of Chalcedon ch. 28. Canon 16.
7. Council of Constantinople ch. 35.
8. Council of Carthage ch. 4. Canon 26.

But it is manifest both the Popes Infallibility and Supremacy proceeded from detestable Treachery and intolerable Pride and Debauchery. *vide Sect. 2.*

Not only our Protestant but their own Authors commence the Reign of Antichrist from that time; see *Luthers Opinion pag. 72 of my 2d. Part: viz.* the first that obtained the Supremacy was *Boniface* the third, the most vicious of Popes we read of, who by the help of *Brasutus* cut out his way to the infallible Chair by poisoning six Popes his Predecessors; *viz. Damasus* the second, *Leo* the ninth, *Victor* the second, *Stephanus*, *Benedict* the tenth and *Nicholas* the second: *vide Paget 244.* and after wickedly approving of *Phocus* his treacherous and barbarous murdering his Master *Maurice* the Emperor with his Wife and Children, for which he was condemned by *Cyryacus* Patriarch of Constantinople; *Phocus* in revenge declares *Boniface* to be Universal Bishop. *vide Plat. in His Life.*

After him *Adrian* the second; by flattering another

The Interest

ther Tyrant *Basilius*, who murdered his Master *Michael* the Emperor, obtain'd of him that none should enter the Council of *Constantinople*, till they first subscribed to the Popes Supremacy, *circa Anno 870.* from which time they daily gained ground by Force or Fraud over the Bishops of other Churches. But *Urban* the second was not contented with bare Subscriptions, but required them to swear Obedience to him.

And this Supremacy gained from the Clergy by specious pretences of zeal for the Liberties of the holy Church, and to free Clerks from Civil Tribunals and Taxes by Lay-Princes, who were thereby also deprived of their antient privileges of the Investiture of Bishops; and withal prohibited all Appeals but to the infallible Chair: upon this our *Thomas Becket, &c.* contested with *Henry* the second about Arraigning Clerks before criminal Judges, for Murders, Robberies, Felonies, &c. which cost *Becket* his Life, and the King intolerable Troubles and Vexations, and at last the loss of his Kingdom and Life; which Vexations were continued by the insolent Clergy against his three Successors *Richard* the first, King *John* and *Henry* the third, but *Edward* the first, to be quit with them, outlawed all the Clergy. *Matthew Paris Ann. 1213.*

What kind of Creatures the Pope and Clergy were after this, read *Sect. 2.* and what woful work they made in the world after they had gained the Supremacy, read *Sect. the 5.*

S E C T. II.

*Observes the Original of these cursed
Principles.*

Although they had been long a hatching, and dispersed throughout the Popedom, asserted by some, and opposed by others; yet never espoused as Articles of Faith till the Jesuits adopted them.

And if you would know the Divine Original of the Jesuits, you may read St. Johns Prophesie of them *Revel. ch. 9.* where they are described to the life, by Characters that suit with no Sect but themselves.

Where these are distinguished from all other Locusts whatsoever.

1. From their Place, *the bottomless pit.* v. 2.
vide ch. 11. 7. 17.

2. From the Time, when the Smoak of the Pit had darkened the Air, *in the time of deep Ignorance.*

3. By their Shape, like Horses prepared unto Battel, *terrible, being movers of bloody Wars, &c.*
verf. 7.

4. By their Swiftnes in execution, *they had Wings.* v. 9.

5. By their Cruelty, *their torment was as the torment*

The Interest

t torment of a Scorpion when he striketh a man.
verf. 5.

6. Their Strength to devour, their Teeth were
as the Teeth of Lyons. v. 8.

7. Their Security, they had Breast-plates of
Iron. v. 9.

8. Their Grievousness to the world, men shall
seek Death, and shall not find it, &c. v. 6.

9. Their Honour, On their Heads shall be
Crowns of Gold. v. 7.

10. Their Visage, or rather Vizard, their
Faces were as the Faces of Men, and they had Hair
as the Hair of a Woman. v. 8.

11. Their Attendants, they had Tayls like unto
Scorpions, and there were Stings in their Tayls.
verf. 10.

12. Their King over them, the Angel of the
bottomless pit. v. 10.

13. The terrible Noise they shall make in the
world, the sound of their Wings ~~the~~ *was* the sound
of Chariots of many Horses running into Battel. v. 9.
vide Famous Mead his Remains, and the Learned
Broughton on this Chapter.

Now these Characters are only found in the Jesuits, all other Orders of Fryars, &c. are not only defective in most of these Qualifications, but in the End and Design of their Institution. The first Votaries we read of were the Hermits or Pilgrims, who were driven into desolate places in the height of persecution. Grimstones States and Empires, fol. 1197.

And soon after, in Constantines time, when the Church

Church had rest, St. Basil and St. Hierome gathered these dispersed Hermits into Societies and Convents. *Ross View of Religions* p. 249.

After them St. Augustine, in the fourth Century, was moved to institute his Order, from his sense of the Corruption and Pollutions with which the generality of Christians were defiled.

In the seventh Century the first Order in the West was instituted by St. Benedict, who imitated the *Augustines* in severity of Discipline and strictness of Morals, but much more superstitious; out of which have swarmed twenty four distinct Orders, the Daughters still worse than the Mothers, *Ross* 270. *Grimstone* fol. 1203. to 1210.

But the Popes having been struggling first with the Clergy, and next with the Emperors and Princes, for the Supremacy, from Boniface 3. in the beginning of the seventh Century, to defend their Title, instituted the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, as Fryars Preachers; that they might from the Pulpit chase Princes out of their Thrones: but the stubborn Emperors, &c. defending their Rights with their Swords; as you may read in *Ursinus*, who abbreviates the History.

His Holiness observ'd St. Peters Keys would not do, he threw them into Tyber, and drew St. Pauls Sword; for the Light of the Gospel broke out with that strength by Wicliff's Books, &c. dispersed in Germany, Bohemia, France, Piedmont, &c. the Popelings observ'd it to be past the Cure of preaching Fryars; whereupon Paul the third discern'd it necessary to raise a more warlike Re-

Stilling.
p. 306.

giment, and instituted these Knights of the Virgin Mary, as the Jesuits first stiled themselves. Ross.

You have an exact account of their Original and Progress, by that eminent Protestant Divine Dr. Stillingfleet, in his *Fanaticism of the Church of Rome*, pag. 301. to p. 320. and by Grimstone in his *States and Empires*, fol. 1213, to which I shall refer you.

And if you neither laugh at the Ridicule nor weep at the Ignorance and Stupidity of that age, you must be of a steady temper.

But to give you an account of the bloody Wars, barbarous Massaeres, and treacherous Assassinations since *Anno Dom. 1545.* the Council of *Trent* confirmed their Order and their Heterodox Articles of Faith, would be, to copy Volumes of their own and our Authors : but you may read some brief hints in *Sect. 5.*

S E C T. III.

Show the Authority whereby they were confirmed.

Excepting the Popes, whose vowed slaves they are, the Council of *Trent* is the only Council that approved and confirmed their Institutions : therefore it is worth observing the Qualifications of that Assembly : saith Dr. Stillingfleet,

fleet, pag. 105. so contrived as not to condemn the grossest Error.

The occasion of the Council was to suppress *Luthers Doctrine* in the designe of the Conclave at *Rome*, but pres'd by the Emperor, &c. to reform things amiss too, and restrain the Imperiousness of the Pope and his Conclave; the Policy of *Rome* thought it not prudent to deny the calling it, least it should be imposed, nor safe at present to admit it, least it should impose on them; Christendom groaning under their unsupportable Exactions and Tyranny; which Germany presented in an hundred Grievances.

Hist. Coun. of Trent.

fol. 17.

fol. 37.

fol. 37.

Therefore the only expedient was to delay it, and to that end raised many scruples about the Authority of their Summons, the Qualifications of their Members, place of Sitting, &c. by which means they drill'd out twenty years, the Lives of six Popes before the first Session 1542. saith *Grimstone, then transferred to Bolonia, after back to Trent.*

And after that what time they spent in Preambles, &c. vide *Council of Trent*, p. 139, &c.

i. About the Title, some of the Bishops were for stiling it the most holy Council representing the Church universal, others opposed it, the Italians vehemently, *Hist. Council of Trent*. p. 138.

So betwixt the Bishops and the Regulars about Priviledges, between the *Dominicans* and *Fran- ciscans* in several points betwixt the Italian Bishops and others about Residence and the extent of Episcopal Power; but the Legates informing the

P. 151.

Pope of these Controversies, he sent them these Orders, Not to broach any new Difficulties in matter of Faith, nor to determine any of the Points controverted among Catholicks, and to proceed slowly in the Reformation, but vigorously against the Hereticks. *vide* Sleidens 12th Book.

But with what vehemency their proceedings were opposed by most Princes, *vide* Field p. 107, &c. by the French King, Sleiden lib. 22. so Charles the fifth, by his Ambassador Mendoza, disclaimed against the Popes Power in calling Synods to reform the Church; besides all the Members of that Council were enjoyned to take this Oath against their Freedom and Liberty, I will defend the Papacy against all men, so help me God, &c. Field 23. no man durst offer his Reasons, or object against what the Popes Creatures proposed, but were presently expelled the Council, Sleiden Com. lib. 21. Craken p. 158. Yet for all this Cardinal Cantaren, &c. urged for the true Doctrine of Justification, the Spanish and German Bishops strove to reduce the Popes boundless Authority; to oppose whom he encreased the number of Bishops, many of whom only titular: and of a sudden created thirteen new Cardinals, sent his frequent Instructions to direct and lead the Council; that it became a Proverb, *The Holy Ghost travelled from Rome to Trent in a Packet*: Such as they could not expel, as Cardinal Cantaren, &c. they cut off by Poyson: and whilst they were thus amusing the world with an expected Reformation, the Pope raiseth an Army, invades Germany,

many, to impose the Tridentine Faith.

This is the Council of Trent, called by the usurped Power of the Pope, guided by Fraud and Subtilty, awed by illegal Expulsions and treacherous Poysonings, ending in bloody Wars; from whence proceeded all their new Articles of Faith.

But with what Dissatisfaction not only to the Emperor and French King, but most other Princes, except the Popes Vassals the *Italians*, these things were received, you may read by their respective Letters printed at the end of the *History of the Council of Trent*, fol. 782. to fol. 823. and then judge whether these Principles were not imposed on their pretended Catholick as well as on Protestant Princes.

But the History of this Council being writ by an Author so generally applauded amongst the Romanists, that it became a proverb, *Father Paul is so blameless and pure, that his very Pantables were canonized.* vide his *Life*, fol. 43. but being voluminous, I shall refer the Reader to Bishop Bramhall's *Vindic.* p. 351. to 355. where he demonstrates that Council to be neither general, free, nor lawful; and yet this is the best Authority the Jesuits and their Principles are confirmed by; and by which they are grown so presumptuous as to excommunicate all the Christians in the world for damned Hereticks that disown the Pope; though they cannot be ignorant that their Principles and communion are rejected by far the greater number of Christians in the world, v. *Page*

p. 1, to p. 33. where you may also read their Harmony both in Doctrine and Worship with Protestants of Europe, and how vehemently they explode the Usurpations, Heresies and Idolatries of the Roman Church, fol. 59. to fol. 109. in so much that the Patriarch of Constantinople, &c. excommunicates the Pope and his Clergy once a year.

Therefore Rome cannot be the Mother Church nor the Mistress of other Churches, being the fewest in number, and last in being; Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, and Alexandria, nay England were in the Faith before her, if we may believe the most authentick of Authors, as Bishop Jewell, Dr. Falk, Willet, Paget, vid. fol. 145. Bishop Bramhall, Taylor, Stillingfleet, Ursinus, &c. indeed she was first in Apostacy, in that she deserves the Primacy, in departing from the Faith and holy Life of the Apostles and primitive Churches; as is manifest from their own Authors that writ from Boniface 3. the first debauch'd grand Apostate to Leo the tenth, who obtained a Confirmation from the Council of Trent of their Errors and Usurpations. Saith Erasmus on the thirteenth Chapter of the Relations, When the Roman Kingdom, after the time of Julianus, was divided into East and West, then began a new Roman Jurisdiction, namely the Pope's Pomp, the Kingdom of the Papists took upon it all the Powers of the first Beasts, the Roman Emperor, and compelled the Christians to Idolatry and Service of false Gods, under pretence of honouring Christ and Saints. Again on ch. 17. he doth affirm that

that the Women prophesied of to be the Mother of Whoredoms and Abominations of the earth, drunk with the Blood of Saints, &c. to be Christian Rome. Again, on chap. 18. Sect. 3. *With this Babylon have Princes, and Prelates, and whole Kingdoms committed Whoredoms and Abominations.*

So Hollcot. pag. 18. complaining of the Priests and Prelates, of *Rome* in his time, saith, *They be like the Priests of Baal, they resemble the Priests of Dagon, they are the Priests of Priapus, and Angels of Hell.*

So Aventine lib. 6. *I am ashamed to say what manner of Bishops we have; with the Revenue of the Church they feed Horses, Hounds, I need not say Whores.*

So Mantuan lib. 3. *Their Wickedness is in everymans mouth, Cities and Countries talk of it; the ruine thereof hath quenched all care of Virtue.*

So their Bishop Cornelius Epist. 3. *With what monsters of Filthiness, with what channel of Uncleanliness, with what pestiferous Contagion are both Priests and People defiled, &c.*

So their Palingenus, lib. 5. warns the people, *Let no Fryar, Monk, or any other Priest come within thy doors; take heed of them, they are the dregs of men, the fountain of folly, the sinks of sin, Wolves under Lambs skins, &c. under the shadow of Religion hide a thousand unlawful acts, Committers of Rapes, abusers of Boys, spending night and day either openly with Whores, or secretly with Boys.*

The Interest

O shameful ! (saith he) can the Church endure such Hogs ?

Saith Plantina Vita Marcellini , What shall we think will become of this our age, wherein our vices are grown to that height, that they have scarce left a place with God for Mercy? how great is the Leachery of all sorts amongst the Priests and the chief Rulers. vid. His Life of the Popes.

Saith Mantu. lib. 3. They are hateful to Heaven, and loathsome with unclean Lusts, &c. they rather kindle and provoke God by their Services, than appease him ; never hope for help so long as such pray for you.

Saith Hierome, Whilst I staid at Babylon, and was an inhabitant of that purple Whore, the Senate of Pharisees made an uproar, and the whole Faction conspired against me ; if you would see the barbarous cruelty of one Pope towards another, plucking out of Eyes, famishing in loathsom Prisons, cutting off Tongues, Hands, Fingers, Noses, Stones, &c. vide Paget fol. 112.

Saith St. Augustin on Psalm 44. They have made us the Citizens of Babylon, we left him that made us, and worship what we make our selves.

Saith St. Ambrose Apocalips lib. 6. Rome is become a second Babylon.

Saith Chrysostom Hom. 36. 1 Cor. The Church at this day is like unto a Woman that hath quite lost her Modesty.

Saith Vincent , Religious Orders are become unto mens Souls the way of perdition.

Saith

Saith Card. Beno. They are led by the Spirit of Error and Doctrine of Devils, Beno de Vita Hildeb.

Saith Matth. Paris in Hen. 2. Whence Christians were wont to fetch the Waters of Righteousness, there they find a poysoned puddle.

Abbot Joachim on Jeremiah, chap. 1, and 2. proves the Romish Church to be the Whore of Babylon mentioned Rev. 17. They have chosen Antichrist for Christ, the Devil for God and Hell for Heaven.

Nay certain of their own Prophetesses, as Saint Bridget lib. 4. cap. 133. and St. Hildegard the Nun in her ad. Book, &c. declaim vehemently against the Vices as abominable, and their State as antichristian.

So their Bishop Cornelius in his Oration to the Council of Trent, Would to God they were not fallen with one consent from Faith to Infidelity, from Christ to Antichrist.

Saith Platina on John 10. The Popes are clean departed from Peters steps. vid. Payer fol. 171. &c.

Saith Cataldus in his Prediction of Rome, Thou unhappy Babylon, the damned pit of Priests.

It would be endless to give you the Testimony of their own Fathers, Bishops, Fryars, Nuns, &c. of Romes dreadful Apostacy from Christ to Antichrist, and from Truth to Error, from Boniface 3. anno 602. to Leo 10. 1520. the Council of Trent was proposed, and from Leo 10. to Paul 3. the Council was opened, Hist. Counc. Trent. 97. all which 29 years time were spent in bloody Wars
betwixt

Betwixt the Emperor and the Popes, the Emperors and Francis the first of France, &c. vide the Life and Reign of Charles the fifth, where you will find, the Pope changed sides theree or four times, as his advantage lay, to weaken them and strengthen himself: though contrary to several Oaths and Leagues agreed on. But did they themselves escape? no: Rome was several times taken, and sack'd, the Pope besieged in the Bastile, & glad to compound on base conditions, though he kept them not; which Confusions made bloody work all Italy over, that by their continued bloody Wars the Pope had so wearied the Emperor and Princes in strugling with him, that Charles the fifth resigned the Empire, and retired to a Monastery, and all others let him do what pleased him, and did themselves what he pleased to be quiet: and then the Council of Trent past their impious Canons, though not without much contradiction.

Thus you see by whom approved; next consider by whom rejected and banished.

How far their seditious bloody Principles have been exploded and detest'd by learned Romanists you may observe Sect. I. p. 204. to 208. which I there inserted to this end, that you may observe, all Papists are not Jesuit Papists: it was evident in the last Irish Rebellion, a considerable number of the Irish Nobility and Gentry, not only disapproved, but violently opposed the Nuncio's party, who copied out the Jesuits Principles and Practices; as you may read in Berlacy's History of the Irish Wars

Wars in 1649, 6150, &c. and in this last Irish Plot I have heard several of good Rank of their party vehemently declare their abhorrency of it: but divers of their Clergy have been Discoverers and Witnesses against their Primate Plunket, &c. which nothing could move them to but Duty, some of them being in a plentiful condition, and titular Dignitaries in their Church, are thereby reduced to great wants, even to extremity, the more is the pity.

And as their Principles have been detested, so their Practices have been resisted, and their persons banished all Popish Realms and States, as fast as they discerned their destructive consequences; as in these following Instances may appear.

1. The State of *Venice* did not only banish but violently thrust them out of the Country, never to return; and made it capital for any man, the Duke himself, to move for their Restoration; you may read the Story at large in *Hawels Survey of the Republick of Venice*, fol. 161. to 167. their Charge was for maintaining, that the Rebellion of a Clergyman against the Civil Power was no Treason, because he is no Subject of theirs.

That to be subordinate to the Bishop of *Rome* is of necessity to Salvation, that the Pope can dispence with Subjects from their Allegiance to their Prince, though lawful and natural. fol. 160.

They were all for Treachery and Sedition seized and imprisoned in Irons for one month at *Constantinople*, and were then banished, with their whole

whole Order, out of all the *Grand Seigniors* Dominions, *vide Turks History* fol. 1489. to 1492. the Cause, *vide Sect. 5.*

For the same Tenents were they banished Bohemia; after they had been Instruments of the barbarous Massacre there, and the miserable Desolations of that flourishing Kingdom, *vide Bohemia's Persecution*, ch. 42. 53.

France did not only banish them by an Arrest or Statute of Parliament dated Decemb. 29. 1594. but appointed a Pyramid to be erected for a Memorial of perpetual Excretion of the Jesuits and their Doctrines; and by another Arrest of Parliament August 21. 1597. against admitting them in disguise, or counterfeiting the abjuring of their Order: again August 18. 1598. prohibiting Noblemen, &c. from sending their Children to their Schools, or any ways to be educated by them, *L. Luc. Hist.* p. 377. to 385. *Anti-Cotton* p. 48, 52. so the *Austrians*, *Helvetians*, *Valesians* and *Polonians*, &c. banished them.

Saith a Polonian Nobleman, *So many Jesuits, so many Plagues in a Country*, *Luc. H.* p. 528. So *Muscopia*, id. 552. so the *Swedes*, id. 333. so *Lithuania*, *Livonia*, *Mazovia*, id. 324. So the States General published their Mandate March 1612. to banish them out of all the United Provinces, imposing great Mults on those that entertained them, or sent their Sons to their Schools, *vide Chron. of Belgia* p. 93, and p. 719.

But I need not trouble you with an account of Protestant Princes and States, where they come not

but in disguise : but if the Popish Princes and States have banished them as Incendiaries, well may the Protestants do it as Traytors ; and above all, *England* and *Ireland*, against whom their Treasons have been incessent above an hundred and twenty years ; as I shew in Sect. 7.

S E C T. IV.

Of the natural Consequences of these immoral inhumane Principles and Practices.

1. They reduce Humanity into a condition worse than brutish, more unsociable more unsafe ; the Beasts of prey have their societies and places of rest, *Isaiah* 34. 14. so *Jeremiah* 50. 39. but amongst these humane Bruits there can be no safe society, no secure habitation : the Protestant Interest of *Ireland* may well lament with the Prophet, *Psal. 120. 5. Wo is me that I dwell in Me-sach, &c. my Soul hath long dwelt with them that hate peace.*

2. These Principles lay the Ax to the root of the tree of all Morality ; not only the common Law of Nature but of Nations is abrogated, that which distinguisheth betwixt barbarous and civilized Nations is rejected, which is civil Law that maintained Justice, Truth and Mercy amongst a people.

P p

3. These

3. These Principles abrogate the Law of God, the Standard of all human Laws, like those Pharisees Christ condemned *Mark 7. 9.* *Ye reject the Commandments of God, that you may keep your own Tradition, v. 12.* *making the Word of God void and of none effect by your Traditions, v. 13.* it is not how it is written in the Scriptures, but how it is writ in the Canons or Casuists, &c.

Now those Principles who thus make void all Laws, and indemnifie their Votaries under all transgressions against them, consequently are lawless Principles: of which Daniel prophesies *chap. 7. 25.* of the man of sin, *He shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the Saints of the most High, and think to change Times and Laws, &c.*

And do we read that ever Mortals since Adam spake such great words against God as this Beast St. John saw rise up out of the Sea having seven Heads and ten Horns, and upon his Heads the names of Blasphemy, *Apoc. ch. 13. v. 1.* to whom there was given a Mouth speaking great things and Blasphemies? *v. 5, &c. vide Ursinus of the Popes Blasphemies pag. 211, 212, and 240.* And that this is the consequence of these Jesuitical Principles, to decline all Laws maintaining Justice, Truth and Mercy is manifest *Sect. 1.* in their Principles, and *Sect. 5.* in their Practices.

Which are aggravated to the height of impiety by their frequent laying their Cockatrice Eggs at others doors, all their treacherous and barbarous Massacres, Assassinations and Rebellions have they

they contrived to suffer upon innocent persons.

The bloody Massacre of *Paris* on our pious Queen *Elizabeth* and the Calvinists ; for which (saith my Author) all the world laugh'd at them, *Luc. Hist.* 107. For as no History makes mention of so ignoble and barbarous a Tragedy acted on the stage of the world by Princes and Nobles, except the *Irish Massacre* 1641. so never was the contrivance of any affair more notorious than that : we never read that ever Pagan, much less Christian, Prince, that laid so many snares, broke so many solemn oaths and promises as *Charles the ninth of France*, under the conduct of his *Italian Mother*, did in that affair, to turn the joyful solemnity of a Wedding of his own Sisters into so doleful a Tragedy, as barbarously to massacre so many brave Princes, and (as some say) above an hundred thousand of his Subjects in a few days. *vide Thuan. Hist. lib. 52.*

The Gunpowder Treason (if it had hit) had been charged upon the Puritans, under which Character all the serious Protestants of *England*, &c. had been immediately massacred, in revenge of that Tragedy acted by the Avenger's themselves : a warning to all Protestants to look before they leap in confederacy with Papists.

Their last bloody Plot, though after full Examination by two Parliaments, declared both by King and Parliament to be evidently a Popish Plot ; yet how many Shams have they been hatching to suffer it upon Protestants : how industriously have they laboured either to corrupt or ruine the Cre-

dit of the Kings Witnesses, and to awe all persons from appearing against them, by murdering Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, and attempting several others who narrowly escap'd them.

By which means the Pope hath the advantage of all Tyrants that ever were in the world: for amongst the rest of his divine attributes, he is omnipresent, to avenge his Quarrels by his spiritual Janissaries in all parts of the world; of whom he may say as the Centurian of his Servants; *I say to this man go, and he goeth, and to that man do this and he doth it;* of which many direful instances might be given out of *Grimstones History of the Netherlands*, and Mr Prynnes Pref. *Vindic. of fund. Liberties, &c.* as *William and Maurice of Nassau in Belgia 1584*. *Henr.* the third and fourth of *France* by Stabs; the *Queen of Navarr* by a pair of poysoned Gloves; *Gregory* the seventh poysoned eight Cardinals, *vide Ursinus pag. 221*. *Paul* the third poysoned his Mother, Sister and Neece, *vid. Ursin. p. 220*. so *Stephen the Prince of Transilyania* by poyson, *Luc. Hist. pag. 614*. *Innocent* the fourth attempted to poyson the Emperor *Conrade*, *Ursin. p. 221*. King *John* poysoned by a Monk of *Swinsted*: nay, when other projects have failed, rather than miss effecting their malice, their very Temples, which are Sanctuaries against others, have been used as Slaughter-houses of these Ecclesiastical Butchers, two Princes of the House of *Medicees* assaulted at Mass, the one kill'd, the other wounded, by the Order of *sixtus* the fourth, *circa ann. 1480*.

When

When Henr. the fourth besieged Hildebrand in the Bastile his Holines suborned Traitors to convey great Stones on the Rafters, of the Church over that place where the Emperor sat, to let them fall on his head whilst at his Devotions, but were discovered by the fall of one of them before the time, *Ursin.* p. 32.

But most horrid was their poysoning the Emperor *Henry the seventh* at *Bonavent*, although one of their own Disciples, in their Chalice at the Sacrament, *vide Grimstones State of the Empire* fol. 603. its like from thence the Mass became a Sacrifice : so that the consequences of these inhumane Principles depending on the Popes Infallibility for Sanction must be desperately dangerous to humane Society , considering what kind of bruites the Popes themselves have been as they are described by *Platina, &c.* on their Lives ; but *Ursinus* hath epitomised their Catholique Vertues , pag. 198. to 243. and reduc'd them into their respective Classes, 24 in number, to be deliberately read in less than one hour , how many of them were Atheists, Arrians, Conjurers, Blasphemers, Tyrants, Traytors, Parricides, Adulterers, Sodomitcs, incestuous persons, Drunkards, monsters of men, &c. And how like Priest like People they are at *Rome*, hear some of their own Poets Characters.

Of their Secular Priests.

*Hateful to God, polluted with vile Lusts,
Alas, in vain they manage sacred Trusts!*

Mantuan *Heaven they provoke, not please: for such to pray
There is no need: nor help at all can they.
Put in new Ministers, and cast them out
From Temples this so sacrilegious Rout.
Nor let a longer stay profess
They make a trade of Wickedness.*

Then of their Regulars.

*And those men too, who seize that lofty Name,
[Religious persons] bragging that they came
From holy Fathers, under fleece of Sheep,
Vile wretches, Souls of Wolves within them keep;
Thus Vertues visage is abus'd
To cloak the Baseness by them us'd.*

Pasquil. *Flee Rome, that wouldst be holy; come not neer:
Thou mayst be any thing but godly there.
I've seen thee, Rome; adieu: ne'r more will see,
Till Bawd, or Whore, or worse I mean to be.*

SECT.

S E C T . V .

Show what hath been the Practice of this Principle of Supremacy since usurped by the infallible Prince of Priests.

TO begin with the Apostle of this Profession *Hildebrand*, I gave you a taste of his infallible Canons : but observe his suitable Practice.

1. Against his liege Lord the Emperor *Hen.* the fourth, a warlike brave Prince, that had fought 60 Battels with success ; and yet this bold insolent Prelate excommunicates him, deprives him of all Regal Authority, absolves his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, &c. on which some of the discontented Princes (especially the Duke of *Saxony*) rebel ; whereby he was compelled (to prevent the shedding of Christian Blood) to humble himself to this man of Pride so low, as to wait, with his Empress and Son, clad in Canvas, barefooted three days in cold frosty weather at his Holiness's Gates, before he obtain'd Absolution : yet soon after, without any new provocation (we read of) but the Jealousie of this infallible Tyrant, that the Emperors great Stomack would not digest this intolerable Indignity , renewes his Excommunication, and instigates *Rodulph Duke of Swavia* his Brother in Law to invade him, who after many bloody

Bickerings was routed and slain. After that stir'd up the *Saxons* to create *Harman Prince of Luxemburgh Emperor*: after he was slain seduceth *Egbert Marques of Saxony* to take upon him the Empire: after he was slain the Emperor called a Council at *Brixia*, which deposed and banished this insolent bloody Pope, *for Heresies, Sacrilege, Factions, a Defender of Perjury, Scandal, a Believer of Dreams and Divinations, a notorious Necromancer possessed with an unclean Spirit, an Apostate from the true Faith*. Thus far infallible *Hildebrand*, who dyed in exile. *Paget* fol. 250, &c.

But this *Elijah* bequeathed his Mantle to his Successor *Pascall* the second, who revives *Hildebrands Curse* against the old Emperor, and prevaileth with his own Son *Henry* to rebel against his most puissant Father, and to usurp the Imperial Crown: but some *Achitophel* told this young *Ab-salom*, old *David* had been a man of war from his youth: and therefore his infallible spiritual Father advised him to decline Force, and try Treachery, in *English*, though a Treaty in *Italian*, against his carnal Father: so a Diet was summoned at *Menz*, where the old Emperor, depending upon the publick Faith for safety, was treacherously seized and cast into Prison, where he soon ended his miserable days. Which unnatural Rebellion against so famous a Father was highly magnified by *Cardinal Baronius*: saith my Author, *What Turk or Savage would be the Oeconomist of such unnatural Treachery?* But after this deposing of Kings became common; as *Boeslaus King of Poland* by *Childerik*.

Childerick the third, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa by Zechary the first; Innocent the third excommunicated the Emperor Philip, and then deposed him, and set up Otho the fourth, and plunged them in bl^ddy Wars, then excommunicated Otho; and absolvēd his Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, *circa ann. 1200*. Again, Frederick the second first excommunicated, then absolved him, upon his promise to affist in the holy War; where, while he was in person bravely fighting, and had taken *Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Joppa, &c.* from the Saracens, the Pope raiseth an Army, invades his Territories, enters Naples, wrested divers places from him, giving out he was dead; but Letters coming of his great success in *Asia*, so much vexed his Holines, he trod them under his Feet, and deludes his Son Henry to conspire against him, which caused the shedding much Christian Blood: but at his return he subdued his Enemies, committed his Son to prison in *Apulia*, where he shortly after dyed, *circa anno 1220, 1244*.

Clement the sixth (to keep up the Trade) excommunicated *Ludovicus of Bavaria*, and commanded the German Princes to elect *Charles the fourth. 1346*.

Julius the second excommunicated *Lewis the twelfth*, and deposed *John King of Navarr*, and gave his Crown to the King of *Spain, 1536*.

Gregory the tenth excommunicated our *Henry the eighth, Pius the fifth Queen Elizabeth*. If you read the Histories of those times, especially *Ursinus*

nus printed ann. Dom. 1600. who hath epitomised them into a small Volume (to be read in a few hours,) from *Charles the Great, anno Dom. 800.* to *Rodulph the second, 1612.* a period of 812 years; who, though briefly, yet fully relates the treacherous and bloody cynamical Practices of the Popes towards the Emperors, Princes and States of Christendom from time to time; and then consider the bloody Wars, Desolations of Countries, &c. these Acts produc'd; you will confess, his Holiness hath been no slothful Servant in improving this talent of Supremacy, &c. to the utmost, and thereby deserv'd his Dignity and Power to tread upon the necks of Princes, as of the Emperor *Frederick Barborosa* on his submission at *Venice*, and be attended on (as before) by the Emperor *Henry the fourth* three Winter nights and days barefoot; and to whip *Henry the second* till the Blood ran down, by the Monks of *Canterbury*, after he had walk'd barefoot so far upon the stones, as his Feet wept tears of Blood upon the pavement; though he had openly purged himself of the Crime of *Becket's* Death before; and to have his Stirrup held, and his Horse led by the most potent Emperors and Kings present in *Rome* whenever he mounted, and whensoever he washes his Hands to have Emperors or Kings to serve him with water, and to attend at Table till the first Course be served, and to prostrate themselves at his Feet whensoever they approached his sacred Presence. *vide Ceremonia Ecclesiae Romanae.*

But that so many high born Heroick Princes shoul

should so basely crouch to the usurped Power of such insolent, imperious Peasants, as many of those Popes have been, is prodigious and only to be ascribed to that divine judgment threatened on them, *that the ten Horns shall have one mind, and shall give their Power and Strength unto the Beast,* Revel. 17. 13. but our comfort is, *the same ten Horns shall hate the Whore, and make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her Flesh, and burn her with fire; because God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree and give their Kingdoms to the Beast until the Word of God shall be fulfilled.* v. 17.

But this may be observed, as soon as they became Slaves to the Pope, they became Tyrants over their own Subjects; the Emperor Charles the fifth, though otherwise a brave Prince, and Philip his Son King of Spain, who murder'd his own Son, *vide Ursinus p. 190.* Francis the first, the Duke of Savoy, and most of the Italian Princes; who by their barbarous Inquisitions, Persecutions and bloody Wars have made all Christendom swim in Blood since they were Vassals to his Holiness.

But these things were but the beginning of Christendoms sorrows, for the Pope to insult sometimes over one Prince, and other times over another, and not bring all their prophane necks under his holy Feet at once, were inferior to his infallible Grandeur, his Holiness by this time was become his Mightines, and resolved to let the whole Christian world know his terribleness to his rebellious

rebellious Subjects the Kings of the Earth, and dischargeth his thundering Canons, and sends out his roaring Bulls against all Princes and States that would permit a person to live in their Dominions that should open his mouth against or peep into his Mystery of Iniquity.

But the most unchristian and treacherous design the Jesuits were employed in by his Holines was anno 1627, &c. to incense the Grand Seignior against the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, accusing him for publishing Books against the Alcaron, which is a capital crime there, that might have tended to the ruine of all the Eastern Christians under the *Turks* Power; but God threw them into the pit they had digged: also they charg'd him to counterfeit the Grand Seigniors Seal, and to stamp false Mony, and hold a correspondence with the Cossacks, in order to joyn with them in their intended Rebellion, &c.

You may read the Story at large in *Turks Hist.* pag. 1489. to 1492. where is recorded Cardinal *Bendis* Instructions to *Rossi* the Jesuit; in the fourth Article the Patriarchs Errors are declared as followeth.

We are advised that he denies the Vocation of Saints, the Worship and Veneration of Images, the Reliques of the Saints, the real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and Traditions, and sends Youths to the *German* and *English* Academies to be educated.

If these Errors are not sufficient to move the *Roman Conclave* to incense the *Turks* to destroy millions

millions of innocent Christians that maintain them.

Let all good Catholicks judge the Ignatian tribe thought to have merited Heaven by this holy project, as the Master-piece of their good Works; but it proved a Halter, &c. as bad as the Turk is, he exploded the Treachery and Cruelty of the Pope.

But considering how *Nicholas* the fifth, their Predecessor, had not only permitted but assisted *Mahomet* the Great to run down the pious Greek Emperor *Constantius* the eighth, because he disowned his Supremacy, whereby *Constantinople* was taken and sack'd, and all the Eastern Churches since miserably enslaved. *vide Turks Hist.* fol 340. This project against their miserable Lives was but to perfect their first against their pleasant Liberties, Turkish Slavery being too moderate a punishment for the Heresie of Antisupremacy, &c.

The only way to prosper against the Turks is to destroy the Christians; as a Jesuit told the Emperor *Charles* the fifth in an Oration at *Auspurg*. *Till you make your Horse to swim in the Blood of the Lutherans, never expect any good Fortune against the Turks.* *Luc. Hist.* p. 186.

Saith Father Steward, *We must burn and cut the throats of these Hereticks, if ever we prosper.*

But *Rodulph* the Emperor, who (by their clandestine machinations, saith my Author) they prevailed with to sign an Edict to silence the Protestant Ministers, was convinced of this Error, when news soon after was brought to him, the Turks had taken *Alba-regalis*, *As a man astonished, said he,*

I did expect some Judgment would befall me, after I began to usurp Gods Government over mens Consciences. *vide Bohemian Persecution, ch. 40.*

Shutting the mouths of Gods Ministers hath usually opened the mouths of Gods Judgments: they that will not hear the voice of Gods Word, shall feel the smart of his Rod sooner or later. *vide Hist. of Boh. Persecution, ch. 48, 49, 50. Luc. Hist. p. 324.* never yet did Prince dance after the Jesuits pipe, but the Comedy ended in a Tragedy; as the Emperor Charles the fifth, after him his Son Philip, &c.

So Francis the first, Henry the third and Henry 4th of France, &c. *vid. Serris Hist. of their Reigns.* But, as if the circuit of the old world had been too narrow a stage for them to act their Tragidies on, no sooner doth Spain discover and invade America, but thither go the Jesuits, by whose instigation and assistance have been destroyed twenty millions of poor innocent people. *vid. Romes Triumphs, p. 126. and Luc. Hist. p. 256. Dr. Whites Way to the true Church, p. 49. Gages New Survey of the West Indies, &c.*

And that the rising as well as setting Sun might blush to behold their world-confounding projects, they have been as busie in the East Indies; but, saith my Author, in the Kingdom of Japonia the Catastrophy of these Firebrands and their Prosylites were miserably extinguished, their Hypocrisie and Covetousness having rendered them monstrously odious to the Japonians, &c. *vid. Bernh. Var. Relig. in Reg. Japon. ch. 11.*

That

of IRELAND.

233

That as their predecessors the old Pharisees compassed Sea and Land to make Profelytes, &c. these modern Pharisees have trod miles to their steps to convert alias to destroy Nations and Countries; and of all the Countries in the world, esteemed by them heretical, England with its Territories is the mark they have for this hundred years past and at this day do most level their poisoned Arrows against: therefore, of all the Protestants in the world, the English or (at least) the Irish Protestant is not to be blamed for manifesting a dread of the influence of Jesuit Papists; the burnt Child dreads the fire.

And it being the Jesuits declared Opinion, the Catholick Religion is not to be recovered in England, &c. by Disputing or Writing, but with an Army, and with Fire and Sword. *vid. Prynnes Compl. Hist. Part 1. pag. 449, 450. Idem in Preface to vind. of Fund. Part 1.*

I am of the same Opinion in that point; but were I of their Principle, and design'd to make one trial more of this supposed infallible expedient, I would advise the next Consult to be sure the Army be strong enough, and the Fire big enough; for if they miss the next attempt, it is twenty to one but the exasperated English Hereticks will reckon with them for old scores, and endeavour more effectually to secure themselves against new Massacres. *vide Part 2. ch. 2. p. 83. top. 89. and Supplement Sect. 7.*

SECT.

S E C T. VI.

*Of their Inconsistency with the just Power
and Right of Temporal Princes and
States.*

1. **T**He most absolute Sovereign Monarchs in the Christian world, much more inferiour Princes, &c. have been greater slaves since the Popes usurped Supremacy, than ever (we read) any conquered or tributary Prince, &c. have been to the Great Turk, &c.

Vide Ursinus's Compendium of the Lives of the Emperors, and then consider whether the Turks ever dealt with their Vassals after Submission, as their Holinesses have done with their lawful Sovereigns, who the Laws of God and Man enjoyns Subjection too: Did he ever insultingly tread on their Necks upon Submission, as Alexander the third on Frederick the first? or kick their Crowns off their Heads with his Feet, as Celestine the third did to the Emperor Henry the sixth? or suffer them to stand with their tender Ladies and Children in a manner naked, bare-foot and bare-leg'd, waiting to acknowledg their Vassalage in Frost and Snow; or did he ever cause them to be whip'd like Vagabonds, as he did our Henry the second till the Blood ran down, for restraining the Insolency of their own Subjects? No. Multitudes

of

of instances might be given of this kind wherein the Antichristian Pope hath outdone the Anti-christian Turk in barbarous insultings over Princes, &c.

And this tyrannical slavery exercised against all legal pretence to Royal Dignities.

1. No hereditary Title, though derived from the most Royal and antient Descents, could secure their Claim until confirmed by the Pope.

1. The Line of *Constantine* the Great after three hundred years Regency rejected by the Pope, and *Phocus*, of base birth and vile conditions, set up for granting *Rome* the Supremacy. *Grimstones State of the Empire* 594.

2. In the year 800. the Line of the *Grecian* Emperors rejected, and *Charlemaine* set up by *Leo* the third, *Grimstone* fol. 596. from which time you may read in *Ursinus* the abstract of the frequent Treacheries of the successive Popes, sometimes instigating Sons to rebel against their Fathers, &c. labouring to extinguish all lineal Descent, and after suppressing due Elections to usurp the sole power of creating and deposing Emperors, &c. at their will and pleasure, to whom I shall refer you.

2. No legal Election nor general free choice of inferiour Princes and States, though of never so long prescription, could fix a Crown on their Heads till set on by the Pope: as in the case of *Frederick Barbarossa*, *Ursin.* p. 47. his predecessor *Conrade* the third, p. 43. so *Lodotwick of Bavaria*, p. 112. the like that brave Prince *Charles the*

fifth, and his Successor *Ferdinand, &c.* vid. Urs. 141. to 177. *Fred.* the second, p. 102.

3. No Concession or submission to the Popes Sentences could obtain Absolution longer than his Holiness could pick the least hole in their Coats; instance the Emperor *Henry* the fourth; so the Emperor of *Greece*, *Constantine* the seventh being in distress consented to the worshipping of Images, &c. yet soon after the Pope sets up *Charles* the Great as Emperor of the West, after him the Emperor *John Paleologus*, to make the Pope his Friend when distress'd by the Turk, owns the Popes Supremacy in the Council of *Florence*, 1439. yet he assisted his Enemies and obstructed his Aids, to the utter ruine of the Greek Empire and Eastern Churches: *Henry* the fourth of *France* turns Papist to please the Pope, and extends all possible respect to the Jesuits to preserve his Life from Assassination, revoked all Edicts made for their Banishment by his Predecessor, pull'd down the Pillar erected in memory of their barbarous Assassination of *Henry* the third, and other treacherous Villanies; yet after all was stab'd in the Heart by *Raviliac*, because he tolerated two Religions: in which Christs words were verefied, *He that will save his life shall lose it; but he that will lose his life for my sake shall find it.*

4. No strength of Arms nor strong holds could ever secure them from the Popes vengeance, when once he resolv'd to rid the world of them; as is evident in *Henry* the third of *France*, stab'd by a Fryar in the midst of his mighty Army, besieging

beging *Paris*, though a great Persecutor of the Hugonites; and this after the good Emperor *Rolph* the second told him *there was no greater sin than to force mens Consciences*, supposing thereby to win Heaven, did oftentimes lose what they posseſſ'd on Earth. French. Hist. p. 318. which when dying he declared to his Nobles, that *Piety is a duty of man to God, over which worldly force hath no power*, pag. 319. so that most warlike Prince *Henry* the fourth after all his Conquest and his changing his Religion to preserve his Life was stab'd in the midst of his warlike Captains, by that wicked Regicide *Raviliac*: read *Grimstones State of the Empire*, &c. you may find many other instances.

5. No Articles for Peace or publick League will secure them: they have always snap'd like *Sampsons* new Cords and green Withs; for as there is no Faith to be kept with Hereticks; so not with Catholiks, if they stood in the way of the Popes Interest, nay Humour; as multitudes of presidents might be given, even to fill a large History: I can but give hints.

1. *John* the thirteenth perfidiously broke his Oath solemnly given on the Body of St. Peter to *Otho* the Great; saith my Author, the Emperor was scarce out of Rome Gates before his Holiness perjur'd himself, Ursin. 13.

2. The like after *Clement* the second and the Romans solemnly took Oath never to presume to meddle with the Election of a Roman Bishop without express Commission first obtained from the

The Interest

Emperor; this honest Pope was presently poysoned, and *Gregory the seventh* that mischievous monster (faith my Author) after he had poysoned six Popes, decreed upon pain of Excommunication, all that should deny he had not only power in Heaven to bind and loose, but Jurisdiction on Earth to take away and give Empires, Kingdoms, &c. to whom he pleased, Urs. p. 24. which he exercised in the most insolent and vile manner over the Emperor Henry the fourth, Ursin. p. 28.

Now if this be the case of Christian Princes, that no hereditary Title, no legal Election, no publick Leagues or Covenants, no humble Submission nor strength of Arms can secure them from Depositing, nor their loyal Subjects from Massacres and Aslassinations, what miserable Servitude are they reduced unto!

They dare not practice the dictates of their own Reason in prosecuting the Interest of their States, they dare not correct or punish their rebellious Subjects for the highest Insolences and Contumacy, as in the case of *Anselm* and *Thomas Becket*; they dare not indulge their most loyal Subjects in their dissent from the Papacy in the smallest point that toucheth their Supremacy, nor protect them from the highest Exactions the Pope and his Clergy shall think fit to impose on them, as in the case of *Henry the fourth of France* and our King *John*, they are in the worst condition of Vice-Roys, having no Standard or fixed Rule to govern by, but the arbitrary contingent Will and

and Pleasure of the Pope , which is as variable as the Weather , *vide Platina*.

Now is it to be imagined, that any Sovereign free Prince in the world, not infatuated, will chuse to dwell in this house of bondage, except they who like Error better than Truth, human Tradition better than divine Institution, and scandalous Sins better than holy Life ?

If any shall alledge, the Protestants are full of Divisions and Confusions , it is manifest Part 2. Chap. 2. that the Papists have far more Divisions and different Opinions amongst them in matters more momentous, their Harmony is only in their Errors, Superstitions and Immoralities , *vide Dr. Hornebeck p. 172. King James's Monitory Epistle.* And would any man in his wits turn Papist for the sake of so cursed an Union ? *vide Platina on the Life of Stephen the sixth, and Bishop Hall his Book call'd the Peace of Rome.* They were esteemed Rebels againgst God, Sons of Belial, that did but talk of chusing a Captain to return to Egypt to the house of Bondage ; it was for that Sin all their Carcasses fell in the Wildernes , Numbers chap. 14.

The *Israelites* had a Law, that the Servant who so undervalued his Liberty in the year of Jubilee as to chuse bondage , his Ear should be bored at the Door-posts , and to continue a slave for ever : but Popish slavery is worse than Israelitish bondage ; theirs was only corporeal, but this is not only corporeal, but spiritual ; we must believe against all dictates of common Reason, nay against

our Senses their corporeal presence , legions of lying Miracles, their Infallibility, &c. or be damned and burnt for Hereticks : Subjects must either be Rebels at home, or Hereticks at *Rome*, if his Holiness see cause to quarrel with their lawful Princes.

Nay we must believe all their Blasphemy against God is Piety, and all their Treason against Kings and Princes to be Loyalty, or be perverse Hereticks.

i. Their Blasphemy against God when they play the Devils for Gods sake by pretending Gods Commission , and designing his Glory by all their inhuman barbarous Acts, although they thereby violate all solemn Oaths and Leagues, &c. it is alledged to be for Gods Glory ; as in the bloody *Parisian* Massacre, &c. never did Prince make and break so many solemn Oaths, Imprecations and Royal Grants, to trepan his Subjects into the pit of destruction , as *Charles the ninth of France* for Gods Glory.

That most barbarous of Murderers the Duke of *Guise*, after by his Order, the brave Admirals dead Body was thrown out of the Window into the street , he kick'd and trampled on it crying out to his Fellow Blood-hounds *this is he, a blessed beginning let us now go on in the name of God;* in which name they , before morning (saith my Author) sack'd and plundered 4000 Houses, barbarously murdered above five hundred Lords and persons of Quality, and ten thousand of inferiour rank ; no Age, Sex, nor Quality, not the innocent

cent sucking Infant nor decrepacy of old age found mercy until above 100000 innocent Souls were destroyed in France, and this perpetrated in the name of God, and for his Glory; and so agreed unto by the Council of Trent, with Spain and France, &c. in the Confederacy, to extirpate all the Protestants in the world within their power, stil'd the Holy League; in pursuance of which, not only France, but Piedmont, Bohemia and Belgia, &c. tasted of the same bitter cup: yet when the news of this inhumane barbarous Massacre came to Rome, his Holiness and their Eminencies in their Pontificalibus march'd in procession to their great Church, and caused *Te Deum* to be sung, and all expressions of Popish Devotions to be express'd, as a Thanksgiving to the most merciful God for this most unmerciful barbarous work, and a Jubilee proclaimed in honour of it.

Its only perfect Copy (we read of) ever acted on the stage of the world was the Irish Massacre, and that was done in the name of God, and for his Glory: *vide the Popes Letters to O'Neal October 18. 1642. and to the Clergy and Nobles of Ireland*, dated at Rome Febr. 1. 1642. and in the Popes Bull dated May 25. 1643. signed *M. A. Miraldus.*

In which, after observing the holy Zeal of their pious Ancestors to root out Heresie, and propagate the Catholick Faith, proceeds to his Benediction, *In the name of the merciful God and the blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul is granted a*

*full and plenary Indulgence and absolute remission
of all their Sins, Trespasses, Transgressions, Crimes
and Delinquencies, how heinous and atrocious so-
ever.*

I instance in these two Presidents, as being in our sight and memories; but if you please to read the Popes Bulls and Excommunications, &c. against any Prince or State, they are all in the name and for the Glory of God. And if their Piety and Virtue consist in these barbarous inhumane Treasons and Massacres, what shall we think of their Vice and Wickedness?

2. As their Blasphemy against God must be believed for Piety, so their most horrid Treasons against Princes, &c. must be esteemed Loyalty; in which multitudes of instances might be given out of the Histories of other Countries. But we need not go far from home to find them: for all their Rebellions against the King, and most barbarous inhumane Cruelties exercised upon his most loyal Subjects in Ireland did they transact in the Kings Name, to which they counterfeited his Great Seal, *vide Borlacy* fol. 29. and declared all they did was for the Kings Service. See their Remonstrance at Trim March 17. 1642. with their other Addresses, but especially the grand Bond of their Catholick Confederacy, their Oath of Association, they declare thus in the Preamble, *As also for the defence and safeguard of his Majesties Person, regal Power, just Prerogatives, Honour, State and Rights:* in the body of the Oath thus; *I A. B. do profess, swear and protest before God,* *bis*

of IRELAND.

243

his Saints and Angels, that I will, during my life, bear true Faith and Allegiance to my Sovereign Lord Charles, &c. that I will, to my power during my life, defend, uphold and maintain all his just Prerogatives, Estates and Rights, &c.

Now to say this in that very act in which the Bond of their treasonable Rebellion consisted, which after the greatest deliberation they agreed to publish, in contempt of the Kings Laws and Sovereign Power, puts dull Hereticks to a stand what to make of Popish Loyalty; unless they can loyally rise in Rebellion against their King, and barbarously murder two or three hundred thousand of his loyal Subjects for his Honour and Service. Sir John Temple p. 6.

The Lords of the Pale desired Comissions and Arms to resist the Rebels, and then imployed them to assist them, for his Service. Sir John Temple p. 60.

They maintained a long and bloody War against His Majesties Vice-Roy and Army commission'd by him, for His Majesties Service.

After near two years, viz. June 1643, they, by the utmost extremity of War against the Kings Vice-Roy, had reduced his Majesties Army into great extremities of wants, &c. yet in their Instrument empowering their Commissioners to treat about the Cessation, they stile theinselves His Majesties most faithful Subjects necessitated to take up Arms for the Defence of His Majesties just Prerogatives and Rights. vide Dr. Borlace pag. 126.

And

And this near two years after His Majesty had declared them and their Adherents and Abettors *lewd and wicked persons, that had rob'd and massacred multitudes of his loyal Protestant Subjects, Rebels and Traitors against his Royal Person, Enemies to his Crown, &c commanding his Justices and Army to prosecute the said Rebels and Traitors with Fire and Sword, as persons unworthy of Mercy or Favour.* vid. Dr. Borlace's Hist. fol. 53, 54.

It is evident His Majesty esteemed that Treason and Rebellion they called Loyalty and good Service: yet so confident they were all they had done consisted with their Loyalty, they menaced the Lords Justices and Council, July 1643. if any Messenger brought any Papers to them containing other Language than to His Majesties loyal and obedient Subjects, they should not return safe. Dr. Borlace p. 128.

And to pass by all the Breaches of their Articles of Cessation, which you may read a Brief of in Dr. Borlace's Hist. fol. 147, 148.

Take but a brief view of their Behaviour after the Peace was proclaimed 1646, and 1648.

1. They treacherously contrived to cut off the Lord Lieutenant and his Army, who in confidence of the Articles of Peace they had got into their Quarters as far as Cashel. Borl. p. 161

Their Excommunicating all that adhered to the Peace, and joyning with the Nuncio's Army to besiege and distress the Lord Lieutenant, with the Kings Army in Dublin. Borl. p. 162, 165.

Their treacherous Consult at Waterford to cut off

of IRELAND.

251

off the Lord Lieutenant and his Party, who visited them in kindness to contrive their Security , and was instrumental (to the great hazard of his Person) to preserve a Body of Foot, that had otherwise been cut off in their Retreat from passage; were these things for His Majesties Service? *Borlace's Hist.* fol. 231, 232.

Nay from that time all their Affronts, Indignities and Contempts put upon the Kings Authority, in the Persons of the Marquesses of Ormond and *Clanricard*, were still for the Kings Service, you may read in *Borlace's History of the Years 1650, 1651.*

When not only the Lord Lieutenant was daily affronted, to that height as is not to be parallel'd for Rudeness and Ingratitude , and after all his patience, bearing with and winking at so many repeated affronts (which his high Spirit would have disdained the least part of, if the Kings Interest had not weighed down all) they excommunicated and rejected his Person and Authority with all imaginary reproach and slander. *vide Borlace 259. to 273.* but it was still for the Kings Service.

And little better Treatment did that most loyal and upright Catholick Peer, the Marques of *Clanricard*, meet with from his Countrymen. *vide id. 291. to 295.*

But after all, for that unpardonable sin of Loyalty, &c. was excommunicated, as a Contemner of the Authority of the Church, because he would not betray his Trust from his Prince. *vide idem fol. 287.*

But

The Interest

But all these intolerable Affronts and Contempts put on the Kings Authority from the Peace 1648. was only by the Clergy and Nuncio's Party: for not only the Marquels of Clanricard but many other Catholick Noblemen and Gentlemen, with a considerable party of the Popish Army adhered stedfastly to the Kings Authority to the last; the other only pretended to it.

Which fully evidenceth, all Papists (as is before asserted) are not Jesuited Papists. And it would be better both for themselves and us, if they would more visibly distinguish themselves, that we might know our Fiends from our Enemies.

My Opinion is, those Subjects indulged by their Prince in the Liberty of their Consciences ought not only to explode all pernicious Principles to the Peace of his State in themselves, but detect them where they discover them in others of their Sect or Persuasion; or otherwise they justly suffer those Miseries that shall ensue by their negle&t: for though Unity in Religion is an excellent bond for Christian neighbourly Society, where it can be obtained without violence to Reason and Conscience.

Yet I judge an Unity in Loyalty, that is, mutually to adhere to the Civil Constitutions of the Government they live under is much more steddy and safe: Civil Interest being much more inclusive and less disputable than Religious: for since St. Paul withstood St. Peter to the Face, Galat. 2. 11. and that sharp Contention betwixt Saint Paul and Barnabas, on which they separated Acts 15. 39.

I do

I do not find either in sacred or other History, but there hath been Contentions and Divisions in the Church: but still their Civil Interest was the same against Pagan Persecutors, until that wicked Error of the *Arrians* became potent, and persecuted the Orthodox, since which time that Antichristian Spirit of Persecution hath rendered Christians less sociable than Pagans.

That were I to choose my Habitation in the world, I should think my self more safe and comfortable in the Neighbourhood of moral Turks, or Heathens, than amongst such Christians as the Evangelical Prophet foretold, *that shall hate me and persecute me for Gods Name sake, saying, let the Lord be glorified, Isaiah 66. 5.* and also our blessed Saviour saith, *the time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think they do God good Service;* which must intend the true God: which Prophecies are fulfilled by Papal *Rome*; Pagan *Rome* never pretended Gods Service: which Principle of Persecution hath been the cause of shedding *Seas of Blood in Christendom* this last thousand years: and (as I elsewhere shew) is more pernicious to civil Peace when Subjects rebel against their Prince under pretence of Religion, than when Princes punish their Subjects for their Differing Persusions.

For we read of frequent Concessions and Grants of Liberty from Princes, but rarely of Submission in Subjects taking Arms for Defence of Religion, until the Country hath been near defoliated:

The Interest

desolated: therefore happy is that Kingdom, or State, where Prince and Subjects are united in one common bottom of *National Relation and Interest*, which no pretence of Religion can dissolve or perplex. History informs us of Christian Legionaries that fought under the Banners of their Pagan Princes to defend the Interest of their Prince and Country from Invasions. *vid the Life of Marcus Aurelius, &c.*

Since Gods Word requires us not only to pray for but seek the Peace of the Country wherein we are Captives, that in their Peace we may have Peace; how much more our native Country, under the Regency of our native Prince, wherein we are Free-men?

But with Papists, as I shewed before, no unquestionable Descent, nor legal Election, &c. can secure a Prince from the Rebellion of his Subjects, if Religion come in competition. And it is not only a Heresie in Civils, but in Religion, to maintain in any case, that Subjects may rebel against their lawful Prince to propagate Religion; against which there is as positive express Precepts in the Divine Law, as against any one Wickedness there forbidden, which is so well known to all that read the Scriptures, I need give no instances.

Objection.

If all Protestants were so persuaded, how came it the Hugonites of France, the Protestants of Germany, Belgia, Bohemia, &c. have maintained War with their lawful Princes for Religion.

Answer.

They that will please to read the History of those

those Wars, may observe Religion was not primarily the cause of those Wars, Civil Rights invaded by arbitrary Princes, contrary to their Oaths and the fundamental Constitutions of their Governments except those of Piedmont, whose Slaughters and Butcheries were so barbarous, and their Prince so obdurate, as to reject all ways of Pacification, which by all humble means, as Petitions, &c. they endeavoured, that they had no choice, but either to lye down under all the unjust Calumnies of their Popish Adversaries and suffer themselves, Wives and Children, &c. to be sacrificed to the Lust of inhumane Monsters, or flee to the Law of Nature and Necessity, to defend themselves as well as they could: and if this was ever the case of Papals under any Protestant Prince or State; their own Historians have not done them so much right as to mention it; and that it was as far from the case of the Irish Papists 1641. as it was possible for the Government to make it. *vide Sir John Temples History of the Irish Rebellion*, p. 16.

The Difference is no other but this, the Protestants in all humble manner supplicate their Princes they may enjoy the Liberty of their Conscience in matters of Worship, whilst they are loyal and obedient in all civil Subjection.

The Papists insolently impose upon their Princes to be of their Religion, and persecute all others on the pain of being destroyed themselves, if they refuse it; as is sufficiently manifested in Sect. 5. and 7.

And

And if this be the case, unjust and uncharitable are their Censures, who so frequently couple Papists and Protestant Dissenters as equally dangerous to the State; saith he that shall judge us all e're long, *Judge not, that ye be not judged, &c. Matth. 7. 1, 2.*

And as nothing in the power of mortals can secure them against Papal vengeance, so no vindictive Justice of the immortal God executed on these bloody Persecutors for their Cruelties will either convince or restrain them: many do we read of that dyed blaspheming, *vide Clarks Martyrologie*, but very few repenting. And very many of them have encreased their fury and rage by the Vengeance of God upon them, but very rare have the Judgments of God on some restrain'd their Survivors from proceeding in the same steps; which stupidity is Gods brand of Reprobation upon them, as upon the Father of Murderers *Cain*.

Pope *Paul* the fourth, notwithstanding the ill success seven Popes his Predecessors had against the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, and the miseries not only *Rome* but all *Italy* sustain'd by their perfidious Rebellions against that brave Prince: yet did he repeat all over again with Addition. Multitudes of instances might be given, both of Popes and tyrannical Princes: but take these:

That monster of Princes, for Treachery and Blood, *Charles* the ninth of *France*, soon after he had made *Paris*, &c. swim with the Blood of his innocent Subjects, breathed out his inhumane Soul,

Soul, wallowing in his own Blood, *vid. M. Seres History of France* p. 809. yet would not this restrain his Successor *Henry the third* from treading in his steps, though his way was too rough to run his pace: for tho' he joyned not in that bloody Confederacy to extirpate all the Hereticks in Europe, called the Holy League, yet maintained a violent War against them, and obtained of the Pope to excommunicate the Prince of *Conde* and King of *Navarr*; yet after all was murdered by a Fryar in the midst of his Nobles, in the very same Room in which himself with that bloody Cabal agreed on that most barbarous Massacre of *Paris*, his last words to his Nobles were, *Learn of me, that Piety is a duty of man to God, over which worldly Force hath no power:* and in him was extinguished that bloody Race of the *Capets*. *vide Monsieur Seres History of France*, fol. 880.

Saith the Poet,

*Who'd trust in Greatness now, whose Food is Air,
Whose Ruine sudden, and whose end despair?
Who would presume upon his glorious Birth,
Or quarrel for a spacious piece of Earth,
That sees such Diadems become so cheap,
And Heroes tumbling in a common heap?
Oh! give me Vertue then, which sums up all,
And firmly stands when Crowns and Scepters fall.*

S E C T. VII.

*Gives Reasons why it is not only the Duty
but the Interest of all the Papists of Ire-
land, to explode and reject these Jesu-
itical Principles above all the Papists in
the world.*

I Knowing several that detest them, and being persuaded many others are of the same mind, both of the Clergy and principal persons of the Laity, as was manifested in the last Rebellion, and by the Witnesses against the late Primate and others in the last Irish Plot, and for the sakes of such unbloody Papists do I offer these things to their consideration, &c.

1. Because whilst they tolerate or indulge them, they will never be safe; as is asserted in Part. 2. pag. 73. all those miserable Desolations that have befallen them since F. Allen and Parsons were sent over to Desmond and Tyrone with consecrated Banners to encourage them to rebel, were the product of these Principles which operated to the ruine and utter desolating many Noble and Worshipful Catholick Families, besides multitudes of common people, vid. Spencer, Campien, Sir John Davis, Stainhurst, &c.

2. If

2. If they would but consider the many traiterous Attempts that have been made against the Regency and Lives of their *English* Soveraigns since *Henry the Eighth* cast off the Popes Supremacy, they may easily guess what deep impressions of jealousie and dread that Nation from the Throne to the Plough retains of them; as for instance.

Henry the Eighth was excommunicated and deposed, the Kingdom interdicted and tendered to whomsoever could conquer it. The Pope in his Bull sent to *James King of Scotland*, declared him deprived of his Kingdom as an Heretick, a Schismatrick, an Adulterer, a Murtherer, a sacrilegious person, and lastly a Rebel, and Convict of *Le se Magistratis*, for that he had risen against him the Pope who was his Lord. *vide l. 9 c. 21.*

Innocent Edw. 6. was filled with troubles from them, and strongly suspected to be poysoned by their Contrivance.

Their cruel Persecution by burning, &c. of five eminent pious Prelates, and one and twenty other eminent Divines, and many good people in their short Reign by *Queen Mary*.

The many Attempts made against the Life and State of that pious *Queen Elizabeth*, against her State in *England*, by that invincible Armado in 88. against her State of *Ireland* by invading it with an Army of *Spaniards* and *Italians* 1580. contriving to bring her Title in question, and raise up the Title of *Mary Queen of Scots* to the Crown of *England*.

The Interest

Campion, Parsons and Haywood; the three first Jesuits that came for *England*, saith Sir *Henry Barker*, I wish they had been the last made it their business to hire Assassins to destroy the Queen.

Summervil to kill her 1582. the like *Parry* 1584. *L. Luce Hist.* 429, &c. *Moody* hired by the French Ambassador of the *Guise* Faction to poison her *ann.* Dom. 1592. *Holt* the Jesuit hired *Patrick Coleman* an *Irish* Fryar to kill the Queen, who of all Fryars love the work; after *Dr. Lopez*, Her Majesties Physician hired with 50000 Crowns to poison her 1593. again *ann. Dom. 1594*. *Williams* and *Tork*, &c. conspired to fire her Navy: *ann. Dom. 1595*. *Edward Squire*, an Officer in her Stable, hired by *Walpoole* the Jesuit to poison the Pummel of the Queens Saddle: after all this their Colledge at *Salamanca* sent over *Winter* the Jesuit with Instructions to raise an Army to make war against the Queen, who by the aid of fifty disguised Jesuits in *England*, listed 25000 Popish Souliers, *Winter* assuring them, the Jesuits of *Spain* had a Million of Crowns already collected for the Service, and many of the Catholick Princes engaged to aid and assist, but her God who had wonderfully preserved her all her long Reign, took her to himself, and so ended hers but not *Englands* troubles. *Luc. Hist.* pag. 405. to 509.

King *James* was designed to be destroyed the day of his Coronation. *Luc. Hist.* p. 509, 510. And his Title to the Crown rejected as being no Catholick and on that account *Waterford*,

Limerick,

Limerick, Kilkenny and Wexford, &c openly opposed his Proclaiming, until forced by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, after the several Attempts to rebel, as is hinted Part. I. p. 2, 3.

But all these hellish Plots by Gods Mercy being frustrated, Garnet, Catesby, Fawx, &c. contrived to do their work throughly by the Powder Plot, November 5. 1605.

A Project not presidened in History for horrid Cruelty and hellish Treachery, to kill King, Queen, Prince, Lords and Commons at a Clap: and then to have charged it upon the Puritans, under which Character they would have destroyed the Body of the most stanch Protestants in the the Kingdom; and then who should oppose what they would have done? Yet Invincible Father Garnet was not discouraged, but was at other Devices, but was taken 1608. and executed, and so ceased plotting, *Luc. Histor.* p. 513. yet the King having further Evidence of their plotting his Destruction, publish'd his Declaration, June 1610. to banish the Jesuits and Priests, *Luc. Hist.* 513.

Yet did they so swarm in England, that Jo. Gee a converted Priest (by the fall of the Mass-house at Black Fryars, where he narrowly escap'd his Life) in his Book called *the Foot out of the Snare*, printed in the year 1624. doth give an Account of a Congregation of Jesuits de Propagando Fide; and how some of them boasted they contrived the poysoning of King James, *vide Prynnes Royal Favorite* pag. 54. and *Romes Masterpiece* p. 34. yet in the Reign of Charles

the first they were still active; *anno Dom. 1627.* they kept their Colledge at Clerkinwell, and behaved themselves so insolently, the House of Commons petitioned the King to put the Laws in Execution against them, *Romes Masterpiece* pag. 34. and *Prynnes Introd.* p. 88, 89. they were the Fomentors of the Wars betwixt *England* and *Scotland* 1639. *Prynnes Compl. Hist.* fol 449, 450. and were preparing an Army to invade the South of *England*, whilst the King with his *English* strength was engaged against the *Scots* in the North; but the *Hollanders* fought and dispersed their Navy on the *English* Coast before they landed, *vide Prynnes Preface to his Vindication of Fundamentals Part 1.* but all Projects failing in *England*, they remembred the proverb,

*He that would England win
Must with Ireland first begin.*

They managed their Consults for the *Irish* Massacre, *vid. Sir John Temples Preface to the History of the Irish Rebellion.* And at the same time plotted the poysoning of the King, discovered to Sir *William Boswel* the Kings Agent at the *Hague*, *vide Romes Masterpiece.*

And this General Rebellion and bloody Massacre, in *Ireland* did not only lay that Kingdom desolate, but also influenced *England* into that unnatural War that cost it so much precious Blood and Treasure; for until the news of that unsuspected amazing destruction of so many innocent Souls

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in *Ireland*, there was not the least appearance of a breach betwixt the King and his Parliament, all things in *Scotland* were so well pacified by the Kings presence there, that when His Majesty upon advice of the Irish Rebellion suddenly hasted for *London*, it became a common speech amongst the *Scots*, *Never did a more contented King part with a more contented People*: and so far were the Parliament at *Westminster*, or the People from the least Jealousie of the King, that he was received into *London* with all imaginable expressions of Joy and Gladness.

But such an impression did the news of that horrid Massacre make, it begat a spirit of Indignation against the Papists, and such a dread of the like Miseries that might be perpetrated in *England* by them, moved the Parliament to desire of the King the Ordering the Militia, on pretence for the better security of the Nation against Papists, and speedier Suppression of the *Irish* Rebellion, upon which Head arose that woful Breach, on which that unnatural War with all its dismal consequences succeeded; from that time began the rude Turnults of *London* Apprentices, &c. and all other misbehaviour; as you may read in *Scobels Collections of that years Transactions*. And on that occasion succeeded that Petition and large Remonstrance from the Parliament, presented to the King December. 14. 1641. which laid the foundation of all our succeeding Miseries: so that all *Englands*, *Scotlands* and *Irelands* Troubles, since *Henry the eighth* shak'd off the Papal Yoke, have

arose either from the Papists Struggles to recover their tyrantical Dominion over these Kingdoms, or the Divisions they have made amongst Protestants by their wily sleights.

And what their Plots have been against the Life of Charles the second, and the Peace of England of late, we are wearied with reading the Discoveries and Evidences in Print. I shall only insert their Oath of Secrecie, which will serve for an Epitome of the whole Plot, at least the Design of it; and indeed it is the truest Explanation of all their former Oaths of Confederacy extant. In this the Monks Hood, is thrown by, of defending and maintaining His Majesties just Rights, &c.

They here clearly renounce and disown any Allegiance, and do swear to help his Holines's Agents, &c. to extirpate and root out and destroy the said pretended King of England, &c.

The Oath of Secrecy, given by William Rushton to me Robert Bolton, February 2. 1676.

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

I Robert Bolton, being in the presence of Almighty God, the blessed Mary ever Virgin, the blessed Michael the Arch-Angel, the blessed St. John Baptist, the holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the Saints in Heaven, and to you my Ghostly Father, do declare, and in my heart believe the Pope Christ's

of IRELAND.

165

Christ's Vicar General to be the true and only Head of Christ's Church here on Earth, and that by virtue of the Keys of Binding and Loosing, given him Holiness by our Saviour Christ, he hath Power to depose all Heretical Kings and Princes, and cause them to be killed. Therefore to the utmost of my power, I will defend this Doctrine, and his Holinesses Rights, against all Usurpers whatever; especially against the now pretended King of England, in regard that he hath broke his Vows with his Holinesses Agents beyond Seas, and not performed his Promises in bringing into England the holy Roman Catholick Religion. I do renounce and disown any Allegiance as due to the said pretended King of England, or Obedience to any of his inferour Officers and Magistrates; but do believe the Protestant Doctrine to be Heretical and Damnable, and that all are damn'd which do not forsake the same; and to the best of my power will help his Holinesses Agents here in England, to extirpate and root out the said Protestant Doctrine, and to destroy the said pretended King of England, and all such of his Subjects as will not adhere to the holy See of Rome, and the Religion there professed. I further do promise and declare, that I will keep secret and private, and not divulge directly or indirectly, by Word, Writing, or Circumstance, whatever shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered to me by you my Ghostly Father, or any other engaged in the promoting of this pious and holy Design; and that I will be active, and not desist from the carrying of it on: and that no hopes of Rewards, Threats, or Punishments shall make me discover the rest

rest concerned in so pious a Work ; and if discovered, shall never confess any Accessaries with my self concerned in this Design. All which I do swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the blessed Sacrament, which I now purpose to receiye, to perform, and on my part to keep inviolable : and do call all the Angels and Saints in Heaven, to witness my real intention to keep this Oath. In testimony whereof I do receive this most holy and blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist.

By this Oath it is evident Popelings are no Changelings, Hildebrands Principles commencing an. Dom. 606. are here repeated in their full strength above a thousand years after, and why these treasonable Plots and Principles were not since the time of this Oath effectually perpetrated is so notoriously manifest in the multitudes of Prints published on that occasion, it evidenceth it was not for want of good will on their parts.

And although God hath gratioufly and wonderfully preserved the precious Life of the King, and in him the Lives of us all that value our Religion.

Yet have these Incendiaries not lost their labour, but have accomplished that which is next to cutting all our Throats, viz. the fomenting a Misunderstanding and Jealousie betwixt the most indulgent and compassionate Prince and his faithful and loyal Subjects.

A doleful consideration it is to all serious loyal Hearts, to observe a Prince so lately received with all expressible passions of Joy, not only by those

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that expected Gain and Advancement; but by others that knew they should suffer Loss as to their private Fortunes; yet were so weary of their past and then present Confusion, and so well satisfied in the Kings Gratiouse Declarations and Intentions, they could and did say, as *Mephibosheth to David*, *For as much as our Lord the King is come again in peace, let Zibah take all*, let Royalists (but not Papists) take our Crown and Bishops Lands, our Regiments and Troops, &c. our Hearts shall joyn with our Hands, to lift the King into his Throne, (which we defie all other Hands to do without us) so England, &c. may be once more settled.

And with what mutual content both King and People have enjoyed each other till the very day this last Hell-hatch'd Plot broke out is notorious to all Europe as well as Great Britain and Ireland, till then we heard of no Court nor Country Parties, no Whiggs nor Tories, &c. but in Irelands Boggs, &c. no Petitioners, Abhorvers, or Adressers, but what the King was pleased with, no executing penal Laws on Dissenters; but on the contrary, Subjects entirely and universally endeared to a Prince, in his own nature, compounded of Tenderness and Sympathy, pleading with Parliaments against penal Statutes; and proposing to their Consideration, that some Provision might be made to enable him to dispence with such Protestants, who through misguided Conscience could not conform to the Ceremonies, Discipline, &c. of the Church, vid. Speeches Octob. 26. 1662. and again Mar. 6. 1673. His Majesty did not only press the House, but also

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manded the Lord Chancellor to commend to their consideration, not only what might tend to preserve the Protestant Religion in general, but for an Union amongst all sorts of Protestants to distinguish between Popish and other Recusants, between them that would destroy the whole Flock and them that only wander from it, &c.

And though Parliaments were not then inclined to so great Moderation; yet hath His Majesty indulged Dissenters, and suspended the Execution of penal Statutes against them in a great measure, for these twenty years past; and more particularly hath govern'd this Kingdom by Lord Lieutenants, &c. that have imitated his Royal Clemency to the utmost Dissenters could expect, that they would shew themselves the most ungrateful, disingenious people in the world to be disloyal, or give the Government the least cause of Jealousie of them. As I observed before, their Interest is as entirely involved in the Safety of the Crown and Potency of the English Protestant Interest, as the Conformists themselves, and they contentedly see them enjoy all Honours and beneficial Offices, either Civil, Ecclesiastical or Military, &c. under the Government, and chearfully perform their Duties in all troublesome and chargeable Services to their King and Country, and desire no greater Reward than that their Loyalty may not be suspected till they give cause.

And notwithstanding they may be dissatisfied with some things relating to the Hierarchy and Ceremonial part of the established Religion, yet not to that

that height, but they will allow there is a necessity of a National Religion, to prevent Atheism, &c. and if so, it follows, there is the like necessity of a National Constitution and Discipline to prevent Confusion; and until the Wisdom of the Nation in Parliament see cause to reform things some think amiss, most Dissenters judge it their Interest as well as their Duty, to support the Protestant Church as now established against all illegal Opposition whatsoever, as the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion in *Ireland* against Popery and Confusion, &c.

There is not any thing the Conformists can design for the promotion of Godliness, which is the chief end of all Forms, but the sober Nonconformists heartily joyn with them; so that the pious Conformists and Nonconformists are both of the same true Religion, pertakers of the same Grace on earth, *Phil. 1. 7.* and Heirs of the same Glory in Heaven, *Rom. 8. 17.* And the impious of both sorts of one false Religion, pertakers of the same spirit of Formality and Hypocrisie on Earth, *2 Tim. 3.* and shall receive the same Condemnation, *Psal. 9. 17. John 5. 29.*

And if this hath been and is the case of the dissenting Protestants of *Ireland*, &c. can they be blamed for expressing a sense of their Damage and Danger by the Jesuited Papists their Neighbours, especially when sometimes from the Pulpit, and other times from the Bench, they are represented to be as dangerous persons as themselves, and that is dangerous enough, if it were true, and whatever their Protestant Neighbours apprehend of them, their

their Popish will believe it ; because they proved the most dangerous Hereticks to them, from the year 1649 to 1653. that ever they met with in Ireland, (but I hope the Protestant Interest fares not the worse for that :) and therefore would be as glad to see Bonefires made of them, as their Predecessors were of *Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, &c.* being convinc'd, burning such surly stubborn Hereticks by three or four at a time is a more safe way than fighting them with the Kings Commission in their Pockets.

But from the whole I argue, it is the Interest of the Loyal moral Papists of *Ireland* above all the Papists in the world to disown and reject the Jesuits Principles expressed *Sect. 1.* from the consideration of these past woful consequences not only to the Protestants, but to the total ruine of multitudes of Noble & Worshipful Catholick Families, many of whom are utterly extinct, and others reduced to a very mean and contemptible state, to what their Ancestors enjoyed. And if so ;

Herberts Travels
fol. 290.

*Why do the Windings of inconstant State
Molest us Mortals, since the self same Fate
Turns high and low ones with an equal doom,
That Servants oft possess their Masters Room.
Men are but Men, and be they strong or wise,
All their Design subject to Hazard lies.*

And if this hath been the issue of their former Struggles, can it be their Interest to hazard what is left by another desperate Attempt ? for (as I before

of IRELAND.

271

(ore asserted) it must be an Have at all; another such Act as that of *Decimo septimo* would not leave a nocent Papist an Acre of Land in Ireland. And if these Jesuitical Principles, mentioned *Sect. 1.* be indulged, they are such a sort of Horse-leeches so greedy of Blood, as *Sect. 5.* and such Salamanders, whose natural Element is the fire of Contention, as *Sect. 4.* long Peace cannot be expected, *2 King. 9. 22.* and if no solid setled Peace in a Country, no Improvement of Trade, &c. as *Part 1. Chap. 1.*

And whilst these just causes of jealousies & fears remain upon the Spirits of the *English*, &c. there can be no true Friendship, nor comfortable Neighbourhood, which their Errors in Worship could not hinder, if their Principles in Morals were but safe.

And therefore I assert it their Interest above all the Papists in the world to explode these Jesuitical Principles, express'd *Part 2. pag. 93, 94.* and then, though we retain different Church Rites, yet may we firmly unite in one common State-Interest, as natural Subjects of the same King, governed by the same Laws, interested in the same common Peace and Safety of our native Country against all Invaders or intestine Disturbers whatsoever.

By this means the cares and perplexities of our common politick Father will be remov'd, to his great content, all prejudices and animosities betwixt Protestants and Papists will vanish, all Tories and other Robbers that discourage *English* Planters will be restrained, when the *Irish* are equally in danger, and consequently equally engaged to apprehend

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hend and suppress them, all foreign Invaders will be discouraged, when they understand all Irelands Inhabitants, notwithstanding their different Religions, are united in the Interest of their King.

It is not to be expressed the manifold common Benefits that would accompany this Unity in Loyalty, which is the main Design of what is before declared in these seven Sections.

Saith the Poet;

*As he, who did against great Jove Rebel,
Was struck with Thunder, and knock'd down to Hell:
So God will all you Monsters overturn,
Who'gainst the King, the Church, the State dare spurn,
Your Glory shall be Shame, black Hell your Mansion,
Furies your fellows, Brimstone and Fire your Pension:
Your motions like Aegaeons; when he turns
Ætna doth shake, and for a while it burns:
But when you move, you shake the World asunder,
Whose Bowels burn and roar till you be struck with*
(thunder.)

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